

INFORMATION BULLETIN

OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR
OF ALBANIA

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YEAR XX

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COMRADE ENVER HOXHA'S WORKS — A POWERFUL REVOLUTIONARY WEAPON IN THE HANDS OF OUR PARTY AND PEOPLE

The first volume of Comrade Enver Hoxha's works has just come off the press and put into circulation in compliance with the Party's Central Committee's decision to publish his works.

With the publication of Comrade Enver Hoxha's works, the Party, the working class, youth — all the working masses of our country come into the possession of a powerful revolutionary weapon of major political, ideological, theoretical and practical importance embodying the general line the Party has been following from the day it was founded to this.

Comrade Enver Hoxha is the founder of the Party. He founded the Party in the critical conditions of clandestinity: when our country was writhing under the heel and the unbridled terror of the fascist invaders; under the complicated circumstances of the existence of several communist groups infected with political, ideological and organizational views alien to Marxism-Leninism, which had taken root especially among the leaders of these groups, and when these groups waged a bitter and unprincipled war against one another; under conditions when no consolidated workers' class as such existed in Albania; under a very grave international situation for the revolution and socialism, when even the first and sole socialist country — the Soviet Union — had been attacked by Hitler's nazi troops who had penetrated deep into Soviet territory. To found a Communist Party in our country at that time was an extremely difficult and bold revolutionary gesture. But the founding of the Communist Party (now Party of Labor) of Albania was an historical

exigency for our country. And Comrade Enver Hoxha fulfilled this historical necessity in a revolutionary way on November 8, 1941.

Nearly twenty-seven years have elapsed since our Party was founded by Comrade Enver Hoxha. Comrade Enver Hoxha has been at the head of the Party all along these years. Our Party and people have been very fortunate in this. In its rich revolutionary activity, our Party has built its history as a Marxist-Leninist Party — the vanguard of our working class having always had Comrade Enver Hoxha at the helm. Therefore, Comrade Enver Hoxha's works portray the whole history of our Party, expressing in them the whole Party line, the successful building and implementation of this line at every historical stage of the Party.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's works represent the creative substantiation of the general truth of Marxism-Leninism, of the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin under the specific conditions of Albania. They are, at the same time, a valuable contribution to the further creative development of Marxism-Leninism and to the consolidation of the international communist movement.

In Comrade Enver Hoxha's works we find the theory and practice of the most important matters of the general line of our Party, particularly, on the creative implementation of the Marxist-Leninist principles in forming, organizing, consolidating and educating the Party; on the tactics and strategy of our Party during the period of the National-liberation War; on seizing the reins of state and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat; on the class struggle and all its aspects; on the economic policy of the Party to build socialism; on the struggle of our Party and people against imperialism; on the struggle of our Party and people against modern revisionism; on the further, all-round and continuous deepening of the revolution in order to bring about the triumphal and uninterrupted development of revolution and to prevent the resurgence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in our country.

The efforts Comrade Enver Hoxha has exerted to found our Party against the Trotzkyite, sectarian and opportunist views of the leaders of the communist groups which existed before the founding of our Party have been of decisive importance for, without exposing and vanquishing these anti-Marxist views, our Party would not have been founded, the

liberation war of our people would not have taken the course it took and Albania would not have been what it is today. The tangible results of the principled political, ideological and organizational struggle waged by Comrade Enver Hoxha in order to found our Party, have confirmed that even when the working class is in the making as a separate class in itself, it is essential and possible to form a party of the working class with the most revolutionary elements of the country, without waiting the working class to be formed as a separate class through the capitalist industrialization of the country. This experience constitutes a contribution to the enrichment of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism with regard to the creation of the party — vanguard of the working class.

Right at the formation of our Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha's main concern has been to work out and implement Leninist norms in the whole life of the Party. Comrade Enver Hoxha's works fully portray the implementation of Leninist norms in connection with the organization of the Party, with its continual strengthening, without the application of which, the life of the Party becomes sterile and leads to the disintegration of the Party, as has actually happened in countries where the revisionists have come to power. Building the whole internal life of the Party on the basis of democratic centralism, development of principled criticism and self-criticism, strict observance of the principle of collective leadership in the leadership of the Party, the constant consolidation of the vanguard role of the Party and its members, the links established by the Party and its members with the masses, the continual ideological uplift of the communists, compliance of a communist's words with his deeds, consolidation of the internal unity and discipline of the Party run through all the work of Comrade Enver Hoxha ever since the founding of the Party.

When our Party was founded it was made up of only a few hundred members. Nevertheless, thanks to the guidance of Comrade Enver Hoxha, it became the true representative of the interests of the working class ever since its founding, it became the sole and incontestable leader of the working masses of our country in our National-liberation War. All the attempts of the enemies of the Party like those of Ymer Dishnica and Sejfullah Malëshova, or of the Yugoslav revisionists to force our Party to give up its role of leadership and

share power with the exploiting classes, were rejected by our Party. If our people's revolution has triumphed within the general framework of the National-liberation War and the dictatorship of the exploiting classes has been overthrown and the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established in our country, if socialism is being successfully built in Albania under the critical conditions of capitalist and revisionist encirclement, if socialist Albania has been able to carry always ahead the socialist revolution and prevent so far the resurgence of revisionism and restoration of capitalism, if the Party of Labor of Albania has held and is always holding aloft, unbent and unsoiled the banner of Marxism-Leninism — this has happened primarily because the role of leadership of the Party has been established among us ever since its founding, because this role has been kept intact and has not been relaxed for a moment but has been steadily strengthened and the Party has always been at the height of its historical mission as a party of the working class by successfully carrying out its correct Marxist-Leninist general line.

One of the main features of our Party, fully portrayed in Comrade Enver Hoxha's works, is its struggle to strengthen the unity of the Party, to strengthen and inure it all around, its fight against the Trotskyites, opportunists, revisionists, deviators and fractionists, traitors to Marxism-Leninism among our ranks, as well as against views alien to Marxism-Leninism, against the bourgeois ideology and its influence among the Party ranks. This bitter, principled and constant struggle of the Party among its ranks has been the reflection of the class struggle which has been waged in our country. Our Party has not tolerated that anti-Marxist views take root among its ranks and turn to trends and lines at variance with the line of the Party, it has never allowed co-existence with the ideology of the enemy, inside or outside its ranks, it has always kept its ranks ideologically unstained. It has exerted all its efforts to settle internal non-antagonistic contradictions among its ranks in a right way, according to Leninist norms, through criticism and self-criticism, clarification and ideological persuasion; but it has unhesitatingly expelled from its ranks all the incorrigible elements, opponents of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, enemies of the working class.

If it had failed to expel from its ranks all its enemies —

ranging from Anastas Lula and Sadik Premtaj, the curs of the bourgeoisie Ymer Dishnica and Sejfulla Malëshova, the revisionist arch-agent of Tito Koçi Xoxe and his collaborators and, later, the inveterate opportunists Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu, traitors Dali Ndreu and Liri Gega to Nikita Khrushchev's agent Liri Belishova, etc. — if it should have failed to wage a principled and constant battle to preserve and further strengthen its unity, our Party would have long ceased to exist and Albania today would not have its dictatorship of the proletariat but would be under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie instead.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's works constitute a powerful basis for the Marxist-Leninist education and revolutionary tempering of the communists and all the laboring masses. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us how to give priority to politics, how to give priority over everything to the Marxist-Leninist ideology in order to turn it into a tangible force, how to develop and guide the class struggle, how to develop the revolution both among our ranks as well as among ourselves. In his works we learn how to be genuine internationalists, staunch fighters of world revolution, supporting to the last the struggle of the international proletariat against capitalist oppression and exploitation and of the liberation wars of the oppressed peoples against imperialism. In them we find inspiration to temper us as consistent revolutionaries, to be irreconcilable with the enemy and its ideology, to be the loyal and devoted servants of the working people, unrecoiling before hardships, creators with revolutionary initiative, tireless workers and valiant fighters in defense of our homeland, active and endowed with revolutionary discipline, loyal to the last to Marxism-Leninism, socialism and communism.

The principle of carrying out the line of the masses runs like a red thread through all the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha. We all know that Comrade Enver Hoxha has called the people «a great and unerring teacher». This is by no means an accident. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that, before undertaking an important act, we should pose the question to ourselves whether this act is or is not to the interest of the people and, if we are incapable of giving an accurate answer to this question or if we want to learn how this act may be better accomplished, then we should refer the matter to the people themselves, and they will teach us the truth and how to go about doing it. This is the method we communists and

cadres have been using ever since those critical but, at the same time, glorious days when our Party was founded and when we had not yet become ideologically formed as we are today. The application of the mass line has always made up for the deficiency that has existed among us communists and cadres as far as the Marxist-Leninist theoretical uplift is concerned and demands, at the same time, that we should constantly strive to raise our ideological and political level, to master Marxist-Leninist theory, because the more ideologically trained we the communists are the better will we deepen and carry out the mass line, the more attentive and zealous we will be as students, and eventually, as teachers of the masses, the better will we raise the ideological level of the masses and the higher the masses are ideologically, the more we can learn from them, the better will they play the role of the unerring teacher of our communists and cadres.

The elaboration and implementation of the strategy and tactics of the Party in the National-liberation war, the solution of the most important problem of our revolution, the problem of state power, according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism find their complete embodiment in Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works; they were of decisive importance for the fate of the National-liberation War and make up a further development of Marxism-Leninism in this field.

During the National-liberation War we solved two big strategic problems of historic significance: the problem of liberating our country from the foreign invaders and, at the same time, that of overthrowing the state power of the exploiting classes of the country and establishing the people's state power. These two problems were not solved apart but in close interconnection during the whole process of the armed struggle.

At first, our Party led the armed struggle only against the fascist invaders and not against the exploiting classes of the country, giving priority to the antagonistic contradictions between the people and the fascist invaders and not to the contradictions between the people's masses and the exploiting classes. In order to ensure the unity of the working people in their armed struggle against the fascist invaders, the Party founded the National-liberation Front in whose ranks were to participate the broad masses of the people, all the anti-fascists, without distinction of class, region or ideology, securing, at the same time, the monopoly of the Party in the

political and organizational leadership of the National-liberation Front Organization.

But it was during the development of the war against the fascist invaders that the inevitable class differentiation began to take shape, too: with the National-liberation Front guided by the Communist Party were aligned the working class, the poor peasantry, the middle peasantry, the middle and petty bourgeoisie of the towns and individual elements of the bourgeoisie imbued with patriotic feelings; whereas with the invaders were aligned the feudal chieftains, the bourgeoisie of the towns and the kulaks taking an active part arm in hand in the struggle against the National-liberation Front, together with the armed forces of the fascist invaders. The correct tactics carried out by the Albanian Communist Party towards the «Balli Kombëtar» («National Front») and «Legaliteti» («Legality») organizations, especially the clear-cut and principled stand taken by Comrade Enver Hoxha towards Ymer Dishnica's treason at Mukja in the year 1943 aiming at sharing state power with the bourgeoisie, were of decisive significance for the fate of the National-liberation War and the establishment of the people's power, and are at the same time, a convincing testimony of the Marxist-Leninist line carried out by our party in this fundamental question.

The conservation and strengthening of the leading role of the Party in the National-liberation Front and the pronounced differentiation of classes as a consequence of the intensification of the National-liberation struggle against the foreign invaders led not only to the liberation of the country from the fascist occupationists, but also to the overthrow of the state power of the exploiting classes and the establishment of the people's power at the same time. The National-liberation Front served as a basis for strengthening the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and for guaranteeing the leading role of the working class in this alliance through their vanguard — the Albanian Communist Party.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has worked out in theory and practice the line of our Party in connection with the National-liberation Front not only for the period of the National-liberation War but also for the period of socialist construction. Our experience with the National-liberation Front as an organization of the people's masses during the armed struggle and after liberation represents a creative development of Marxism-Leninism in the question of ensuring and streng-

thening the political unity of the people round the Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class and under its leadership.

In the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha we see portrayed the implementation of the tactics and strategy of the people's war relying upon the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. There are widely depicted the fierce struggle waged and the great work done by our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally to form and strengthen our National-liberation army without which our country could not have been liberated and the strategic aims of the Party could not have been achieved. The mobilization of the people for the armed uprising, the organization of the National-liberation Army beginning with the simplest forms and its development up to the highest ones, the elaboration of the military strategy and tactics in the People's War to make our country free from foreign occupation relying on our own forces and, at the same time, linking the struggle of our people with the Great Patriotic War of the peoples of the Soviet Union led by Great Stalin and with the struggles of all oppressed nations, the development of tactical successes into operative ones, the direction of military operations relying on the countryside to liberate the towns and carrying the armed struggle through to the complete liberation of the country — all these problems are portrayed in the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Right from the beginning, the combative slogan of our Party has been: «freedom is not donated as a gift but is won with bloodshed!» and «Death to fascism — Freedom to the People!». Thus, our people, under the guide of the Party, rose arm in hand and buried fascism, and our people's power was born from the barrel of the gun: we won our liberty with our own blood. That is why liberty is so dear to us, that is why we are resolved to defend it with our blood, down to the bitter end.

In Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works we find expressed the greatest revolutionary vigilance for the defense of the interests of our country and people from foreign intervention. The resolute stand taken by our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha towards the U.S. and British imperialists who were never allowed, under the pretext that they were our «allies» in the war against fascist aggression, to intervene in Albania to stifle the revolution and to keep in or bring to power the reactionary forces, was of decisive importance for the freedom and independence of our homeland. The ultimatum and

the resolute actions taken by the Comander-in-Chief of the National-liberation Army, Comrade Enver Hoxha, towards the attempts of the U.S.-British imperialists to land British troops in Albania in 1944 were salutary to our people: if the landing and stationing of British troops in Albania had been permitted, then all the work done by our Party and people would have been annihilated, as was the case with Greece. On the other hand, in spite of the close collaboration of our Party with the Yugoslav Communist Party and although we did not know at that time what really were Tito and his revisionist clique, Comrade Enver Hoxha energetically raised his voice against the attempts of Tito's emissaries to intervene in our internal affairs and did not allow their plots to substantiate. To this bears witness, among other things, the letter addressed, on October 29, 1943 by Comrade Enver Hoxha to Vukmanovich Tempo as well as his directives in the same year to guard our Party against the interference of the Yugoslavs in our internal affairs. The Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha give a broad picture of all our struggle against the attempts of the foreign imperialist and revisionist enemies to intervene into our internal affairs both during and after the National-liberation struggle.

In the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha we not only learn how the people's power, the dictatorship of the proletariat was established with us but also the measures the Party has taken and is taking for consistently strengthening the proletarian dictatorship which should continue to exist through all the time that class struggle, including also the class struggle conducted in the ideological field, will continue to be waged.

Our Party's decision not to share state power with the bourgeoisie was a decisive measure for the complete triumph of the revolution of the people, it led to the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in our country. Another historically indispensable measure taken consistently by our Party was breaking up in a revolutionary way the whole state apparatus of the fascist invaders and of the exploiting classes of the country and establishing the people's power, the dictatorship of the proletariat on its ruins.

The Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasize the characteristics and tasks of our people's power, of the proletarian dictatorship and the measures taken by the Party for the continuous strengthening of socialist democracy for the working masses alongside with the strengthening of the

proletarian dictatorship over the exploiting classes and the enemies of socialism, they emphasize the ideological education and the sharpening of the revolutionary vigilance and the implementations of all the dispositions of socialist legality by the organs of the proletarian dictatorship. The teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the struggle against bureaucratism as one of the main directions towards safeguarding and continuously strengthening the proletarian dictatorship and avoiding the danger of its degeneration and liquidation, are of great theoretical and practical significance for the fate of socialism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha is the founder of our people's power, of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Putting his teachings into life, our state power, our proletarian dictatorship have kept ever strengthening and have successfully carried out their historic mission in each phase. Implementing Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings and recommendations for an all-out strengthening of the state organs, for cleansing them from the dangerous disease of bureaucratism, so that they be closely linked with the people's masses and ever in the service of the people, keeping loyal to the end to the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line of our Party which is the source of the successes of these organs and a guarantee that the latter may always honorably fulfil the great tasks the Party has laid down before them.

Our People's Army, carrying out the teachings of its founder and Commander-in-Chief, Comrade Enver Hoxha, has become an unsurmountable force capable of coping with any foreign aggression and scoring ultimate victory in the battlefield against any enemy or coalition of enemies. At the same time, our entire people, inspired by the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and carrying out the combative slogan of the Party to build socialism holding «the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other», are taking an active part in the defense of the Homeland. Thus, our Army and armed people united in a body under the guidance of the Party have turned socialist Albania into an invincible stronghold. The People's Republic of Albania pursues a profoundly peaceful policy, she does not molest any one. But the Albanian people, educated by the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, keep their powder always dry to defend their freedom and independence even at the point of the bayonet, if need be, against anyone who dare encroach upon the boundaries of our socialist homeland.

Comrade Enver Hoxha attaches particular importance to strengthening the leading role of the Party in the general system of the proletarian dictatorship as the surest guarantee for the continuous strengthening of the organs of the proletarian dictatorship preventing elements hostile to the working class from usurping state power.

The implementation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the class struggle in our concrete conditions is seen through all the work of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Right from its founding, our Party assumed the leadership of the class struggle and conducted the latter always in the interests of the working class. If our Party's opinions on the class struggle during the National-liberation War and the people's revolution had not been correct, then this war would have ended with it sharing state power with the bourgeoisie.

After the liberation of our country and the establishment of the people's power, a bitter, complicated and all-out class struggle developed which always led to the victory of the Party, to the victory of our working class. Continuously sharpening the revolutionary vigilance of the Party and of people's masses, correctly and relentlessly developing class struggle on all fronts, viewing and sizing up all questions from the angle of the class and in the interest of the working class, being irreconcilable with the bourgeois and revisionist ideology and with any anti-socialist action, settling aright the contradictions between us and the enemies and the contradictions among the people, incessantly strengthening the unity of the people and uniting them round the Party through the class struggle — these are the most important problems of the class struggle as portrayed in the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Admitting or rejecting the class struggle as one of the decisive motive forces through all the historic period of socialist construction, Comrade Enver teaches us, is a demarcation line between the Marxist-Leninists and modern revisionists.

The works of Comrade Enver Hoxha embody the Party line on socialist construction, they work out, from the theoretical and practical angle, the economic policy of the Party to build socialism in our country relying upon the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Comrade Enver Hoxha's reports submitted to the various congresses of the Party lie at the roots of the Party program for socialist construction.

By implementing the Party line for socialist construction in our country, we successfully laid down the economic basis of socialism; we transformed our country from a backward agrarian into an agrarian-industrial one and are well on the way of making it an industrial land with an advanced agriculture. We are at present at the stage of the complete construction of socialist society. This brings to the fore the necessity of a consistent and all-out further deepening of our cultural and ideological revolution as a fundamental link to safeguard, consolidate and further develop the victories of revolution and our socialist construction in all fields at a sure and rapid rate.

The way of carrying out successfully reforms of an anti-feudal and democratic and socialist character, measures for the re-construction of the country after the devastations wrought by the war, ways of industrializing the country, of collectivizing and intensifying agriculture, methods to develop the productive forces all around, elaborating and carrying out the principles of the planned economic development of the country, implementing the principle of democratic centralism also in the sphere of socialist economic construction; carrying out the principle of relying on one's own forces in socialist construction, ways to be followed by technical and scientific revolution, ways to narrow down gradually differences between the town and the countryside, between industry and agriculture, between mental and physical work, implementing the mass line in planning, fulfilling plans and controlling the implementation of the state plans, etc., all of these questions are fully portrayed in Comrade Enver Hoxha's works.

The history of our Party is inseparable from the struggle our Party is waging, under Comrade Enver Hoxha's guidance, against imperialism and revisionism. This fierce, complicated and difficult, but, at the same time, glorious struggle that our party is conducting against imperialism and revisionism proceeding consistently from principled positions is seen through the entire work of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Our Party has not confined itself to a defensive struggle only against imperialism and revisionism. Our Party has long emerged into the international arena as a shock brigade of socialism, as an ardent, consistent and uncompromising fighter against imperialism and modern revisionism wherever imperialism comes up against the international working class or the oppressed.

nations, wherever the activities of the revisionists are aimed against Marxism-Leninism and socialism and to the benefit of imperialism.

Our Party has never detached its struggle against imperialism from its struggle against opportunism and modern revisionism. Our Party has clashed with the modern revisionists as early as 1943, when the Yugoslav revisionists began their attempts to intervene in our internal affairs in order to lead Albania into their revisionist trap.

The struggle of our Party with the Yugoslav revisionists and their agents in its leadership became exceptionally fierce and extremely dangerous especially at the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Party which was held in November 1944 in Berat, where the Titoites hatched up a big plot to strip Comrade Enver Hoxha from his functions as Secretary-General of the Party and to subjugate the latter, to liquidate it, and then, after the liberation, during the 1945-1948 period, when the Yugoslavs made desperate attempts and plotted to lay hand on the Command of our People's Army, to usurp the reigns of State Power, to bring divisions of the Titoite army to Albania, in order to turn the latter into the «seventh republic» of Yugoslavia.

The struggle of our Party against the Yugoslav revisionists did not cease for a single moment, just as the plots and activities of the Yugoslav revisionists against socialist Albania have never ceased either. And it is to Comrade Enver Hoxha in the first place that belongs the historic merit for the defense of the independence of our Party and country from the Titoite plots all along the time of the existence of our Party. Comrade Enver Hoxha's works show the prolonged and fierce principled battle our Party has consistently waged against the Yugoslav revisionists. Our Party has summed up a valuable experience in the process of the struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists.

But the struggle of our Party against modern revisionism assumed even greater proportions when our Party came to grips with the chief of modern revisionism, Nikita Khrushchov. Our Party had been at loggerheads with the modern Soviet revisionists long before the true face of Nikita Khrushchov was publicly exposed. All the world knows of the struggle our Party has been and is waging against the modern Khrushchovite revisionists. In Comrade Enver Hoxha's works we will find the tactics and the strategy of our Party in its

struggle against modern revisionism which tactics and strategy are characterized by a high Marxist-Leninist loyalty to principles, by revolutionary courage and determination of our Party, by its consistent irreconcilability with the revisionists' activities, by the establishment of a clear-cut demarcation line between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism, by its profound confidence in its own forces and in the revolutionary forces all over the world, by its unshaken faith in the ultimate triumph of Marxism-Leninism over modern revisionism. Thanks to the implementation of Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings our Party has emerged in the international arena as a resolved fighter in defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism and is making its revolutionary contribution to this great cause of decisive importance for the fate of Marxism-Leninism, socialism and communism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's works sum up the experience of our Party and the experience of the international communist movement in the struggle against modern revisionism, they come to principled and concrete conclusions and lay down concrete tasks to carry our victorious revolution ever ahead, thus making it impossible for revisionism to crop up its head and capitalism to be restored in our country, carrying the struggle against modern revisionism to the latter's complete annihilation.

The international communist and workers' movement possesses the positive experience of how revolution is to be carried out to overthrow the state power of the bourgeoisie and establish the proletarian dictatorship, it possesses the positive experience of the economic construction of socialism, but it has also, on the other hand, the bitter experience of the Soviet Union and some other countries showing how it is possible for the revisionists to usurp the leadership of the Party and state and overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat. But it still has not enough experience on how the seizure of power and the restoration of capitalism by the modern revisionists might be avoided after the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, as was the case with the Soviet Union after J.V. Stalin's death and with some other countries.

The struggle to carry the uninterrupted socialist revolution ahead in all fields, thus blocking all possible ways to the emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capita-

lism, and the struggle to achieve the ultimate victory of the socialist over the capitalist way on all fronts, including the ideologic one, is a historic task of decisive importance for the fate of socialism and communism. And this task will stand before us up to the complete and ultimate victory of the socialist way not only on a national but also on an international level. Our Party has attached particular attention to the solution of this problem. It even had to beat untrodden paths in order to solve this historic problem.

After a profound study of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and of the history of the international communist movement, Comrade Enver Hoxha has made a creative elaboration of many cardinal theses of Marxism-Leninism in compliance with the actual conditions of our country, and has laid down many big tasks of historic significance aiming at further promoting our ever victorious revolutionary cause.

Further deepening the cultural and ideological revolution, further revolutionizing the inner life of the Party, further revolutionizing our school, fighting for the complete emancipation of the women, struggling for the formation of a new man with a Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and with revolutionary ideals and spirit, educating the working people to give priority to general over individual interests and to perspective over immediate interests, continuously developing the production forces, continuously perfecting socialist relations in production and the superstructure of our society, combating consistently against bureaucratism and technocratism, deepening the mass line and continuously perfecting the relations between cadres and the masses, accentuating and putting proletarian politics in command, delving deeper in the conception of the class struggle and its developing through the entire historic period of the construction of socialist society, consistently strengthening the proletarian dictatorship, further intensifying the role of the working class and workers' control over the whole life of the country, ever consolidating the guiding role of the Party, gradually narrowing down the great differences of our society in an organized way, etc. — these are the main questions Comrade Enver Hoxha has theoretically and practically elaborated in his works. These questions represent in themselves a big program for the Party, of the working class and of our people as a whole for the consistent and victorious development of socialist revolution and the avoidance of the emergence of revisio-

nism and the restoration of capitalism in our country. Carrying out the tasks laid down by these teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha finds its expression in the everyday revolutionary life of our Party and people, in the great revolutionary initiatives and movements that have sprung successively these recent years all over our country.

On October 16th this year, Comrade Enver Hoxha celebrates the 60th anniversary of his birth. Now he bears on his shoulders an over 40-year-long revolutionary experience as a pupil, soldier and servant of the people, he possesses particularly a 27-year long experience as the leader of our Party and revolution in all its phases and through the greatest difficulties.

Therefore, studying the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha we do not simply study the experience and revolutionary teachings of a loyal disciple of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, but also the experience and the revolutionary teachings of the glorious leader of our Party and people, we study the history of our Party in the most complete way possible.

We communists, just as the Albanian people as a whole, are proud of Comrade Enver Hoxha, of his revolutionary thought and activity, of his works. All of us are his comrades and disciples, all of us learn from him and put his lessons into practice for they are the teachings of a Marxist-Leninist. Publishing Comrade Enver Hoxha's works will make it possible for us to delve deeper in our revolutionary tasks.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's works are an invaluable treasure, a great school of revolutionary education and Marxist-Leninist ideological and political tempering for all the communists of our country. Proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist principles and summing up the 27-year long experience of work and struggle by our Party, Party members will find in these works appropriate answers to the big questions life and the development of our revolution pose on them, they will find there the leading thread in order not to lose their bearings in any situation and honorably accomplish their mission as vanguard fighters and mass leaders.

With the publication of Comrade Enver Hoxha's works, the working class will have a wider scope for their education and a greater source of inspiration to strengthen their leading role among all the masses of the working people of the country, to heighten proletarian discipline, to make their participation in the administration of the country still broader, to

sharpen their revolutionary vigilance and combative spirit, so that the working class may become what they should actually be: the backbone of our proletarian dictatorship in any situation.

The peasantry of our country will find portrayed in Comrade Enver Hoxha's works the road of liberation and progress they have traversed in alliance with the working class and under the guidance of the latter's revolutionary vanguard — the Party of Labor — from the heroic days of the war against fascism, the overthrow of the ruthless rule and oppression of the beys and landlords to the complete victory of the cooperative order, from the former small and primitive to the modern agriculture of our days. Comrade Enver Hoxha's works blazon our peasants' road to their future, of their struggle to further strengthen collective ownership, to develop agricultural production at a rapid rate, to lead a more cultured life, to be educated and tempered in the spirit of collectivism and to gradually narrow down the gap between the town and the countryside.

With the publication of Comrade Enver Hoxha's works, new broad horizons are opened to our people's intelligentsia to deepen their knowledge, to link themselves more closely with life and with the struggle of our Party and people, to better put their capabilities to the service of socialism, to be imbued with the ideology of our Party in irreconcilable struggle against any influence of bourgeois and revisionist ideology, in order to make their worthy contribution as an important force in further developing our ideological, cultural, technical and scientific revolution.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has always attached particular importance to strengthening the youth organization, to their ideological education, so that our youth may study, think, work, strive and live in a revolutionary way. With the publication of Comrade Enver Hoxha's works our youth will be able to delve still deeper in studying Comrade Enver Hoxha's thinking, becoming ever more loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian dictatorship and carrying on the revolution in a worthy way.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings on the complete emancipation of the women are the sound basis on which our entire revolution for the complete emancipation of the women is being carried on these days. In Comrade Enver Hoxha's works, the Albanian women will find the source of

their revolutionary strength to forge farther ahead along the road of their complete emancipation, putting the principle of equality between man and woman into real life, so as to become an important revolutionary activizing factor in the absence of which no socialism can ever be built up.

Therefore, let the publication of Comrade Enver Hoxha's works be a stimulus for all the communists, the working class, the youth and all working people to consistently undertake a still bigger ideological and revolutionary action in studying, assimilating and fully implementing the teachings contained in Comrade Enver Hoxha's works, in delving still deeper in the history of the party and the Marxist-Leninist ideology in general!

We the Albanian communists and our people as a whole, wish Comrade Enver Hoxha a long, long life. May he live as long as our mountains for the good of our Party, of our people and of the world revolution!

Let us apply the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha to the letter!

COMMUNIQUE

OF THE FIFTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA

ON 5 SEPTEMBER 1968, THE FIFTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA HELD ITS SESSION UNDER THE PRESIDENCY OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA, AND TOOK UP FOR DISCUSSION THE REPORT ON THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND, ESPECIALLY, ON THE EVENTS IN THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA SUBMITTED BY COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AS WELL AS THE REPORT ON THE STAND OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA TOWARDS THE WARSAW TREATY SUBMITTED BY COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU, MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

IN WINDING UP ITS PROCEEDINGS, THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED THE REPORTS SUBMITTED AND TOOK THE RELEVANT DECISIONS.

**THE FIFTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA**

**SPEECH DELIVERED BY COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU,
MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR AND CHAIRMAN
OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA AT THE 6th SESSION OF THE
POPULAR ASSEMBLY ON «THE STAND OF THE PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA TOWARDS THE WARSAW
TREATY»**

Comrade Deputies,

This Session of the People's Assembly has been convened at the request of the Government, in compliance with the decision of the 5th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, assembled on the 5th of this month, with a view to examining the proposal on the denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty and to relieving the People's Republic of Albania of every obligation stemming from this treaty. For this, it is necessary that the People's Assembly should abrogate the law No 2063, dated May 28, 1955 on the Ratification of the Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Aid, concluded on May 14, 1955 in Warsaw, between the People's Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the People's Republic of Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Poland, the People's Republic of Rumania, the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Republic.

The Council of Ministers decided to present to the People's Assembly the proposal on the denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty and the withdrawal of the People's Republic of Albania from this treaty, following a careful and responsible examination of the situation created in the Warsaw Treaty organisation and following the approval by the Party Central Committee.

It is known that the Soviet revisionist leadership and the revisionist leaderships of the other countries participating in the Warsaw Treaty have long excluded «de facto» the People's Republic of Albania from the Warsaw Treaty. This has happened because the People's Republic of Albania has never accepted the activity of the Soviet revisionist leadership for the violation and throwing over of the principles and provisions of the Warsaw Treaty and to turn this treaty into a tool in its hands to dictate its chauvinistic and great state will on the countries and peoples participating in the treaty, so that, as it is said in the Declaration of the Party Central Committee and of our Government on the aggression of the Soviet revisionists and their satellites against the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Czechoslovak people, «the Warsaw Treaty, from a peace treaty has been turned into a treaty of enslaving war, from a treaty of defence against the imperialist aggression, it has been turned into an aggressive treaty against the very socialist countries themselves».

It is high time for the People's Republic of Albania to withdraw from the Warsaw Treaty «de jure» as well, and this action will be carried out by us, the representatives of the Albanian people, being fully aware that this is a revolutionary action which fully complies with the supreme class interests of our socialist homeland and of revolution in general in the present-day conditions.

As it is known, the Warsaw Treaty was signed in 1955 with the free will of the eight participating socialist states. This treaty expressed the policy of these countries for the defence of their common interests and aims from the aggressive plans and aims of the NATO imperialist military bloc, created and led by the United States of America, in which revanchist West Germany takes also part. Thus, when the Warsaw Treaty was created, it was aimed at the defence of the participating countries against the imperialist aggression and West German revanchism, it was a defence treaty, just, indispensable and which fully complied with the supreme interests of the countries participating in it. The Warsaw Treaty was created as a counter-weight to the NATO imperialist treaty. The Warsaw Treaty was based on the lofty principles of Marxism-Leninism, the fraternal friendship of the sovereign and equal socialist states, their determination for the further strengthening of the internationalist fraternal relations, of

collaboration and all-out mutual aid, respect for sovereignty and national independence, noninterference in the domestic affairs of one another. The Warsaw Treaty was an expression of the relations of internationalist proletarian solidarity existing between the participating countries at the time of its signature.

The Albanian people greeted the Warsaw Treaty as a factor of great political, military and economic importance which was to play a great role not only in the defence of the participating countries against the aggressive plans and policy of the NATO powers, but also to contribute to the further strengthening and development of each participating state, on the basis of the fraternal collaboration of the participating countries in the treaty, on the road of socialism and communism, to contribute, likewise, to the all-out strengthening of the entire socialist camp and of peace in Europe and in the world.

Such were the principles, the spirit and lofty aims for which the Warsaw Treaty was created 13 years ago.

But, during these 13 years, the situation has radically changed. The Soviet revisionist leadership, implementing the counterrevolutionary revisionist line mapped out at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, gradually changed the character of the Warsaw Treaty, it thoroughly upset its defensive character and turned it into a tool in its hands to enslave the peoples of the very countries participating in this treaty. The Soviet Khrushchovite leadership, in contrast with the principles of the Warsaw Treaty and with the interests of the socialist camp, of the freedom of the peoples and of world peace, concluded and is constantly developing the «holy alliance» with U.S. imperialism, for the domination of the world by the United States of America, which is the main force of world imperialism, and by the Soviet Union, which has become the main force of modern revisionism and of counterrevolution in the world. They and their lackeys that belong to the Warsaw Treaty have long excluded «de facto» the People's Republic of Albania from the Warsaw Treaty, inasmuch as the Party of Labor of Albania does not submit to the revisionist dictate of the Khrushchovite leadership of the Soviet Union. The Moscow revisionist clique is acting in the most dissolute way against the interests of socialism, for the defence of which the Warsaw Treaty has been created, so that it finally went to such lengths as to

carry out the most humiliating action for the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, the thorough-going crime through the fascist type aggression against the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Czechoslovak people.

In these conditions, to remain in the Warsaw Treaty, to call oneself a member of the Warsaw Treaty would mean to belong to an aggressive, anti-socialist treaty, to be a lackey of the Kremlin revisionist clique and to back up its counterrevolutionary actions against the freedom of the peoples of the socialist countries, to back up its policy against the liberation struggle of the peoples, against peace in Europe and in the world, and the policy of the Soviet-U.S. collaboration for the domination of the world by these two great powers.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, led by the correct Marxist-Leninist general line of our glorious Party, has always remained true to the aims for which the Warsaw Treaty was created and to the obligations stemming from this treaty. In all its attitudes and activity it has fully implemented the fundamental provisions of this treaty. At the same time, the Albanian government has waged a principled, consistent and very difficult and complicated struggle against the undermining activity carried out by the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union and its lackeys in the Warsaw Treaty for the distortion and throwing over of the principles on which the Warsaw Treaty was based.

It is known that the Warsaw Treaty was created in May 1955, while at the beginning of 1956 there was held the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, where the arch-revisionist Nikita Khrushchov upset the previous correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of Lenin-Stalin and replaced it with the Khrushchovite counterrevolutionary revisionist line. The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union marked the beginning of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, as well as in many other socialist countries, it marked a counterrevolutionary disastrous turning-point for the Soviet Union and created tremendous difficulties for the entire international communist movement.

With the course of events, with the implementation of the revisionist and counterrevolutionary line of the 20th Congress on the part of the Khrushchovite leadership of the Soviet Union, the Party of Labor of Albania, under the

leadership of its Central Committee headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, by its revolutionary class perspicacity that characterizes it, perceived the real aims of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and, remaining faithful to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, started its resistance to the aims of the Soviet revisionist leadership also within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty. This resistance has undergone the process of its development, passing from simple remarks and initial resistance up to the active and open action against the revisionist line of the Soviet Khrushchovite leadership and its lackeys. We opposed at the very outset, in various forms, to the extent we were allowed by the circumstances of that time, the conclusions of the 20th Congress, so that this initial resistance by our Party was quickly perceived by Nikita Khrushchov. We have opposed the pressures of the Khrushchovite leadership of the Soviet Union to weaken the defensive might of our country, we have striven for the implementation of the principle of equality in the context of the direction of the activity of the Warsaw Treaty, we have insisted on the defence of the interests of socialism and of the socialist camp against the first manifestations of violation of these interests by Nikita Khrushchov and his circle, etc.

But the frictions of our Party and our Government with the Soviet revisionist leadership were transformed into explosion at the Bucharest Conference and, especially, at the Moscow Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties, in the year 1960. There, our Party openly attacked the whole undermining activity of the Soviet revisionist leadership headed by Nikita Khrushchov, and this heroic and revolutionary action of our Party will remain one of the most brilliant pages not only of the history of our Party, but also of the history of the entire international communist and workers' movement. The speech delivered by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Moscow conference, in November 1960, will remain an everlasting glorious monument in the history of the international communist and workers' movement, it makes up an exceptional contribution of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha to the exposure of the Khrushchovite revisionist clique and to the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism on a world-wide scale.

These revolutionary consistent and courageous attitudes of our Party infuriated the revisionist leadership of the

Soviet Union and its vassals. Beginning from that time, Nikita Khrushchov and his collaborators intensified in an exceptional way their counterrevolutionary and chauvinistic activity against our Party, our Government and our people.

In this way, in open contradiction with the spirit and provisions of the Warsaw Treaty, in March 1961, the Soviet government, headed by Nikita Khrushchov, transformed the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Consultative Political Committee from a consultation meeting between equal partners, into a tribune of calumnies, pressures and blackmail against the People's Republic of Albania, and sought in every way to dictate to our Party and Government the great state will and policy. In opposition to all norms of organisation and functioning of the Warsaw Treaty and entirely departing from the discussion of the items on the agenda for which the Consultative Political Committee was convened, under the dictate of the Soviet Government at this meeting, savage attacks were launched against the People's Republic of Albania, most clumsily distorting the facts about the correct policy of the Albanian Government and about the situation of the Albanian-Soviet relations. This meeting, which has remained as a black spot in the Warsaw Treaty history, has served as an open starting point for the entire later activity, exceptionally hostile and anti-Albanian, which the Soviet Government and the governments of the other member countries of this treaty and lackeys of the Soviet revisionist leadership have carried out for years in succession against our socialist country within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty.

At the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Consultative Political Committee which was held in the month of August 1961, the Soviet Government of Nikita Khrushchov and the governments of the other countries participating in the treaty, infuriated by the principled and inflexible attitude of our Party and Government in defence of the interests of our socialist homeland and of Marxism-Leninism, in defence of the very principles on which the Warsaw Treaty was built up, went still further. Under false charges and absurd pretexts, they went to such lengths as to deny the lawful right of the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania to take part at this meeting. Such an attitude, essentially hostile, discriminatory and in flagrant opposition to the treaty provisions, was another desperate attempt of the Soviet

revisionist leadership to impose its reactionary will on our country, to establish its hegemony within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty and to treat the members of this treaty not as members with equal rights, but as humble servants, obedient to the Moscow revisionist dictate.

Beginning especially from 1961, the Soviet revisionist Government and the governments of the other member countries of the Warsaw Treaty, have unscrupulously violated the provisions of this treaty as to the rights of the People's Republic of Albania concerning the United Command of the treaty armed forces and the other questions of military character.

The article 5 of the Treaty stipulates that the United Command «... will function on the basis of the jointly fixed principles», and that the contracting parties «... will adopt also other coordinated measures that are needed to strengthen their defensive potential, with a view to defending the peaceful work of their peoples, guaranteeing the inviolability of their borders and territories and ensuring the defence from any eventual aggression». The Declaration of the creation of the United Command says likewise that «the Defence Ministers or other military leaders of the signatory countries of the treaty are appointed Deputy-General Commanders of the United armed forces». But the Soviet revisionists and their followers, in full opposition to these just provisions, have organized numerous meetings with the participation of the Defence Ministers of the other Warsaw Treaty states and of their military representatives, without asking and without inviting the representatives of the People's Republic of Albania and in their absence. At these meetings they have examined various problems of political and military character and they have adopted important decisions on questions relating to the strengthening of the fighting preparedness of the armed forces of these countries as well as many other questions.

The other Warsaw Treaty countries, under the dictate of the Soviet revisionist leadership have organized frequent military exercises and manoeuvres without the participation of the People's Republic of Albania.

Practically, the Warsaw Treaty forces have been transformed into component parts of the armed forces of the Soviet Union. The Defence Ministers of the countries participating

in the treaty not only have no competence any longer to perform their functions as Deputy General Commanders of the treaty's united armed forces, but things have gone to such lengths that the General Commander of the Warsaw Treaty United forces is always one of the Deputy Defence Ministers of the Soviet Union who receives orders from the Defence Minister of the Soviet Union and from the Kremlin Khrushchov clique and not from the Treaty's Consultative Political Committee, likewise, the General Staff of the United forces is entirely in the hands of the Soviet army officers, as a component branch of the General Staff of the Soviet Army, while the other countries participating in the treaty have no say whatsoever in the matter: they must only obey the orders and decisions of the men of the Soviet Khrushchov clique in everything.

In this way, within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty there has remained no sign whatever of the principle of equality between the countries participating in the treaty, the same as, if not worse, than in the North Atlantic Treaty where the U.S. imperialists are ruling.

It is also known that in September 1957, within the framework of the collaboration between the Warsaw Treaty member countries, there was concluded the agreement between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Albania on the creation of the military-naval base of Vlora. This was both in the interest of the defence of the People's Republic of Albania as well as in the collective interest of the strengthening of the defence of the socialist camp within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty. But the Vlora base was remaining an Albanian base where, in accordance with the agreement, only we Albanians were commanding, it was subject to the orders of the Albanian Government, and all the military-naval means were property of the People's Republic of Albania. However, the Government of the Soviet Union, in contrast with the provisions of the Warsaw Treaty and of the other agreements concluded within the framework of this Treaty between the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Government of the Soviet Union, sought by all means to impose its will of a great state chauvinist on our Government and on our armed forces, trying to have the Soviet military-men at the Vlora base behave as if they were not on the territory of the People's Republic of Albania, but on the territory of the Soviet Union or of

some vassal country. Our Party and our Government opposed with the greatest determination all these attempts of the Soviet revisionist leadership and defended with dignity the interests of the Albanian people and of our socialist homeland.

Finally, in May 1961, the Soviet Government headed by Nikita Khrushchov, in contrast with the agreements concluded with our Government and in an arbitrary way, robbed us by force of eight submarines which were the property of the Albanian State and which were moored at the Vlora base, as well as of the Albanian warships that were moored at the Sevastopol port, and the Soviet military-men left the Vlora base. The Soviet Union expelled all the Albanian army officers and military-men on probation, who were studying at military schools and academies in the Soviet Union and, at the same time, demanded the departure, within 24 hours, from the territory of the Soviet Union of the permanent representative of the General Staff of the People's Army of the People's Republic of Albania under the United Command of the Warsaw Treaty in Moscow.

The Soviet military-men stationed at the Vlora base, carrying out Nikita Khrushchov's directives, sought in all their ways to provoke a pretext for a Soviet military interference against the People's Republic of Albania for ulterior purposes of occupation and in opposition to the provisions of the Warsaw Treaty. But the Party Central Committee and our Government showed themselves vigilant towards these dark aims of the Soviet revisionists, acted in a cool manner and with determination defending with dignity the supreme interests of the Albanian people, until the Soviet revisionists withdrew completely from the Vlora base. The defence of the interests of the homeland and of the people by our Party, our Government and our Army within the framework of our relations with the Soviet revisionist leadership concerning the Vlora military-naval base, exposed the Soviet revisionists and their dark aims against the sovereignty of our country and led to the final departure of these provocateurs from our territory. We consider a friend like a friend, but our enemies have no room on Albanian territory.

The Warsaw Treaty provisions stipulated also that the contracting parties «will act in the spirit of friendship and collaboration, so that the economic and cultural relations between them should further strengthen and develop, follow-

ing the principles of mutual respect for their independence and sovereignty, as well as of noninterference in their internal affairs» (article 8). In contrast with these principles and provisions, the Soviet Government, extending the ideological differences also to state relations with our country, violated and destroyed unilaterally all the concluded agreements: it cancelled all the credits accorded to the People's Republic of Albania through regular agreements for the 1959-1965 period, it cancelled all the agreements duly concluded between the two countries, it withdrew all the Soviet specialists from Albania, it fully suspended all collaboration and economic, trade, technical and scientific and cultural relations and organized the economic, political and military blockade against socialist Albania.

On the other hand, the arch-renegade Nikita Khrushchov made great promises to the Greek chauvinists for the fulfilment of their aspirations against the territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Albania.

Pursuing this hostile course the Soviet revisionists went as far as to make an open call on the Albanian people, from the rostrum of their 22nd Congress, for counterrevolution, to overthrow the Marxist-Leninist leadership of our Party and State and to replace it with a revisionist leadership that would be subservient to the Khrushchovite leadership of the Soviet Union. The Soviet revisionist leadership plotted actively several times, indeed in close collusion with the external enemies of our country, to change the situation in Albania in favor of revisionism and counterrevolution. But all these plots failed with shame owing to the revolutionary vigilance, to the steel-like unity and determination of our Party and our people.

The article 3 of the Warsaw Treaty stipulates that «the contracting parties will consult one another on all the important international questions relating to their common interests, being guided by the interests of the strengthening of peace and international security».

But this important provision of the Warsaw Treaty has long been buried by the Soviet revisionist leadership, especially as regards its consultation with socialist Albania. The Soviet leadership has acted and is acting at its will, it consults none of the Warsaw Treaty members as to what it will

do on the international arena, but it dictates its will to them, it forces them to approve «without reservations» every step of the Soviet revisionist leadership in international issues. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania was not consulted, it was not invited to the meeting and was not even informed of the arbitrary, unjust and unjustifiable postponement of the signature, within the year 1961, of the Peace Treaty with the two German states, or only with the German Democratic Republic where there was to be settled at the same time the issue of West Berlin, as it was long decided jointly.

Although the article 7 of the Warsaw Treaty stipulates that «the contracting parties pledge themselves not to participate in any coalition or alliance whatsoever and not to conclude any agreement whatsoever, whose aims are in contrast with the aims of this treaty», the Government of the Soviet Union, beginning from the year 1961, following with consistency and great zeal the course of the alliance with the United States of America, has carried out numerous bargainings with U.S. imperialism to the detriment of the interests of the socialist countries and of the peoples of the world and has concluded a series of agreements which are entirely to the detriment of the interests of socialism and revolution and to the advantage of U.S. imperialism.

In the year 1963, the Soviet revisionist leadership concluded with the United States of America and Britain the ill-famed tri-partite Moscow Treaty on the Partial Prohibition of the Nuclear Weapons Tests, and a few months ago the Soviet revisionists concluded with the U.S. imperialists also the Treaty on Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania has not been consulted at all about these agreements, as provided for by the article 7 of the Warsaw Treaty, and it is opposed to these agreements between reactionaries and imperialists.

The Tri-partite Moscow Treaty and the Treaty on Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons supplement one another, they serve the same objectives. By means of these treaties, the two great powers, the Soviet Union and the United States of America, aim at securing for themselves a position of supremacy towards the countries not possessing atomic weapons, at placing these countries under their control and at resorting to the blackmail of nuclear weapons to facilitate the imple-

mentation of the global strategy of the U.S.-Soviet alliance, which is the most thorough-going plot towards socialism and communism, towards the peoples fighting against imperialism, for their freedom, independence and national sovereignty.

Our Government has condemned these two treaties as a new U.S.-Soviet counterrevolutionary plot against the interests of the peoples and which are in flagrant contradiction with the spirit and provisions of the Warsaw Treaty.

These two imperialist-revisionist treaties are directed, in the first place, against the People's Republic of China, to «contain» People's China, so that she should not have nuclear weapons. But this plot of the U.S.-Soviet counterrevolutionary alliance has long failed, too: Great People's China, which accounts for one-fourth of the world's population, resolutely advancing on the road enlightened by the Marxist-Leninist teachings and ideas of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, has long finally broken the imperialist-revisionist nuclear monopoly, and there is no treaty, plot and force in the world capable of curbing and preventing her from marching always ahead on the road of revolution, socialism and communism.

The real strength of a nation and of a people does not consists in arms but in men, in their conscience because, in the last analysis, the fate of the war is not decided upon by weapons but by men. And the new man, genuine revolutionary of socialist China, or of socialist Albania, is much stronger than any imperialist or revisionist nuclear arsenal in the world. We wish that the nuclear potential of the People's Republic of China become ever stronger because nuclear weapons in the hands of the 700-million strong revolutionary people of China, brought up with the teachings and ideas of the great Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, are only in the service of real peace in Asia and in the world, in the service of the defence of the sovereignty of the People's Republic of China, of the defence of the interests of freedom of the people and of revolution.

The Soviet revisionist leadership has struck up bargains with the U.S. imperialists on questions relating to «European Security» as well as on the conclusion of an agreement for a «non-aggression pact» between the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO, etc. All this has been done without consulting the Albanian Government and in opposition to the Warsaw Treaty provisions. By these actions, the Soviet revisionist leadership has channelled the Warsaw Treaty into the service of the

interests of U.S. imperialism, against the interests of socialism, of freedom of the peoples and of peace in the world.

The use of the Warsaw Treaty by the Soviet revisionists as a tool against the liberation and revolutionary struggle of the peoples is mirrored also in the demagogical attitudes and in the plots hatched up within the framework of this treaty concerning the struggle of the Vietnamese people against the U.S. aggressors. The Soviet revisionists and their lackeys in the Warsaw Treaty make a big fuss about the «aid» which they give to the Vietnamese people in their struggle against the U.S. aggressors and, on the other hand, they leave no stone unturned to help the U.S. imperialists to subdue the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people through the so-called «peace talks» which are nothing else but a big plot of open betrayal against the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and in the service of U.S. imperialism.

Under the mask of the Warsaw Treaty, the Soviet revisionist leadership and its servants pose themselves in this treaty as «the most fiery defenders» of the Arab peoples in their just struggle against the Izraeli-imperialist aggression, while, on the other side, they do everything in their power to undermine the struggle of the Arab people and to back up the aims of U.S. imperialism through the Izraeli aggressive action.

All these actions have not only discredited the Warsaw Treaty before all the peoples of the world, but they have turned it into a tool in the hands of the Moscow chauvinist revisionists for the attainment of their aims using it as an important lever in the further and continuous deepening of the Soviet-U.S. alliance for the domination of the world by these two great powers.

Comrade Deputies.

Starting from the beginning of the year 1961, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania has not been consulted and has never been invited to attend the numerous meetings that have been held within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty, and it has never been informed by the participants in these meetings of the decisions that have been adopted there. For all these decisions and actions, which in general are in contrast with the interests of the People's

Republic of Albania, of socialism and peace, the People's Republic of Albania bears no responsibility whatsoever.

The Soviet Government and the governments of the other member states of the Warsaw Treaty, denied our country its lawful rights in the treaty, they placed it in conditions of inequality and discrimination, they sought to humiliate it by all sorts of intrigues, attacks and conspiracies. But the People's Republic of Albania, by its correct and heroic attitude, caused all the attempts and hostile actions of these renegades to fail. It has patiently undertaken serious, repeated approaches to the Warsaw Treaty organs and to the governments of the member states, calling on them to reflect on the situation created in the fold of the treaty and to mend without delay the great damages caused to the supreme interests of the member states and to the whole of the socialist camp.

In its official notes and letters addressed to other Warsaw Treaty member governments, our Government had warned them of the serious dangers that were threatening the Warsaw Treaty due to their anti-Albania and anti-socialist actions.

In its note of February 5, 1962, after mentioning the continuous violations of the Warsaw Treaty by the Soviet Government concerning the People's Republic of Albania, our government pointed out that «... every Warsaw Treaty meeting held without consulting and without inviting also the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and all decision adopted at such a meeting are unlawful and unbinding, for in such conditions of brutal violation of the rights of a member state, the Warsaw Treaty itself remains without acting force, for which the governments of the other participating states in the treaty are responsible».

Likewise, in its note of March 14, 1963 our government once more stated that «... the Soviet Government headed by Nikita Khrushchov and, following it, the governments of the other member states, for a longtime now far from implementing the Warsaw Treaty concerning the People's Republic of Albania, have completely violated this treaty».

In its letter addressed to the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Consultative Political Committee in January 1965, our Government called the attention of the member states to the fact that they were allowing the Soviet Government to carry out acts which had the degeneration of the treaty for their aim. That letter forcefully stressed that «... a special responsibility rests with the other member states for having allowed

the Soviet Government headed by Nikita Khrushchov to carry out actions exceptionally hostile towards the People's Republic of Albania, a socialist state and an equal effective member of the Warsaw Treaty».

In its note of July 19, 1966, our Government pointed out «the Government of the Soviet Union, brutally ignoring the sovereign rights of the Warsaw Treaty member states, continues unscrupulously to violate the fundamental principles and provisions of this treaty, seeking to use it as a tool of its chauvinistic policy of a great power, and as a means of capitulation before U.S. imperialism».

All the official documents of our Government, addressed to the Warsaw Treaty members, clearly mirror the entirely correct, Marxist-Leninist and internationalist attitude of our Party and Government towards the situation created as a result of the harmful actions of the Soviet Government and of the governments of the other member countries of the Treaty.

Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 5th Congress of our Party: «Our Party and Government have waged and are waging a resolute struggle against the criminal attempts of the Khrushchovite revisionists and their followers to use the Warsaw Treaty and the Mutual Economic Aid Council as an instrument of pressure, intervention and aggression against our country. We shall defend our right through to the end and we shall insistently expose the betrayal and conspiracies of the new Czars of the Kremlin, not only as regards the interests and rights of Albania, but also regarding the rights and interests of socialism and of peace in general».

Comrade Deputies,

Our Party and Government, as you see, have long warned the Warsaw Treaty member countries that the Soviet revisionist clique is seeking to use this treaty «as an instrument of its great power chauvinistic policy», and that «it is placing the Warsaw Treaty in the service of the policy of the Soviet-U.S. collaboration».

These objective forecasts of our Party and Government have been confirmed by life itself. This is most evidently shown before the whole world by the recent barbarous aggression on the part of the Soviet revisionists and their lac-

keys, members of the Warsaw Treaty, against the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Czechoslovak people, by the military occupation of the whole territory of Czechoslovakia through their armed forces.

The military aggression against Czechoslovakia is an aggression against a country which is a member of the Warsaw Treaty, as is the case with the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, on the part of five other countries, also members of the Warsaw Treaty — the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Poland, the People's Republic of Hungary and the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The aggression was carried out on behalf of the Warsaw Treaty, in the most perfidious manner. It is a fascist-type aggression.

The aggression against Czechoslovakia and the latter's military occupation by the Soviet revisionists and their satellites, definitely buried all the just principles and aims which the Warsaw Treaty had at the time when it was created 13 years ago. This shameful aggression definitely turned the Warsaw Treaty into an enslaving instrument, into an aggressive pact in the hands of the Soviet revisionist clique for the implementation of its great state chauvinistic policy, for the suppression of freedom of the peoples and the enslavement of the very member countries of this treaty themselves.

The source of the aggression of the Soviet revisionists and their satellites against Czechoslovakia is to be sought and found at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which overthrew the Marxist-Leninist line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of Lenin-Stalin and replaced it with the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of Nikita Khrushchov. The implementation of the line of the 20th Congress by the Moscow Khrushchovites led to the complete bourgeois degeneration of life in the Soviet Union, to the transformation of the Soviet Union into a capitalist state and into a center of modern revisionism, into the most through-going and profitable ally of U.S. imperialism.

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union brought about a vigorous flourishing of modern revisionism in all the countries of People's Democracy in Europe, with the exception of the People's Republic of Albania where the banner of Marxism-Leninism was raised still higher in

the hands of the Party of Labor of Albania and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Both the Novotny revisionist group, as well as the Dubcek revisionist group in Czechoslovakia are a product of the extension of the implementation of the revisionist line of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union also to Czechoslovakia. The difference between these two Czechoslovak revisionist groups consists only in the extent of their submission to the Moscow revisionist clique: the Novotny group stood for the complete submission of Czechoslovakia to the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique, whereas the Dubcek group was seeking to detach itself from this Khrushchovite clique of the Soviet Union.

When the occupation armies of the Soviet revisionists and their satellites suddenly and perfidiously attacked the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Czechoslovak people, the Dubcek and Svoboda revisionist clique called on the Czechoslovak people and ordered the army not to resist aggression. This was a shameful capitulation of the Czechoslovak revisionist clique before the foreign invaders, it was the highest betrayal to the interests of the Czechoslovak people.

But the betrayal of the Dubcek-Svoboda clique did not end at that. It is known that the Soviet invaders, from the very first day of their aggression and occupation, arrested Dubcek and his closest collaborators and deported them to the Soviet Union. On the third day of the occupation, the Soviet revisionists inasmuch as they were unable to find a basis for the creation of a puppet government as they had hoped, compelled the president of Czechoslovakia, Ludwig Svoboda, to go to Moscow to be dictated to under conditions of occupation. Svoboda went to Moscow and kissed with great love the hangmen of the Czechoslovak people, Brezhnev, Kosygin and Podgorny.

During the forced and humiliating negotiations that were held in the Kremlin, the Soviet revisionists brought from deportation, humiliated and reduced to their knees before them, into the negotiations hall, the head of Czechoslovak revisionism Alexander Dubcek and his closest collaborators, Cernik, Smrkovski, etc., while the Soviet tanks were exercising the iron occupation throughout Czechoslovakia and were crushing under their tracks the Czechoslovak people. In these conditions of the fascist-type dictate there was signed

the recent Moscow agreement between the Czechoslovak and the Soviet revisionist leaders. The Dubeck-Svoboda clique, to save their skin capitulated still further, they accepted the conditions of the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia and turned thereby into a clique of collaborationists and Quislings in order to carry out blindly and humbly the orders of the savage invaders for the suppression of freedom of the Czechoslovak people.

Our Party, Government and people denounce and condemn with the greatest determination, both the brutal aggression of the Soviet revisionists and their lackeys against Czechoslovakia and the fraternal Czechoslovak people, as well as the Czechoslovak revisionist leadership headed by Alexander Dubcek, who placed themselves in the full service of the invader and are performing the functions of a collaborationist and Quisling government carrying out the orders dictated by the occupationist for the enslavement of the Czechoslovak revolutionary people.

Our Party, Government and people congratulate the fraternal Czechoslovak people on the fact that, despite the repeated calls of the Czechoslovak revisionist chiefs to unconditionally submit to foreign occupation and not to put up any resistance whatsoever in defence of the homeland, they met the occupation of their homeland with an organized resistance, although in its initial stage, and are manifesting their opposition also to the Dubcek-Svoboda collaborationist clique.

Our Party, Government and people have faith in the revolutionary spirit of the fraternal Czechoslovak people, they are confident that the Czechoslovak people will not reconcile themselves with the occupation of their homeland, but they will fight against this occupation in all the forms of the liberation and people's warfare. They are confident that the Czechoslovak people will not reconcile themselves to the collaborationist Dubcek leadership or to anyone else that would submit to the dictate of the occupationists, they are confident that the Czechoslovak people will fight against the fiendish schemes of the imperialists and revisionists. Under the leadership of the genuine Marxist-Leninist communists and of the revolutionary working class, the Czechoslovak people will for sure develop their struggle for freedom leading it towards higher forms also of the armed struggle, up to the complete liberation of their homeland from the foreign invader and the restoration of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Czechoslo-

vakia. They must not allow themselves to be deceived by illusions and compromises, by the promises of the occupationists, by the demagoguery of local revisionists and collaborationists, by the flatteries of the imperialists and by the «sympathy» of sham friends. The Czechoslovak people's struggle for freedom will be a protracted and difficult one. But it will without fail lead to the victory of the Czechoslovak people. In their sacred struggle for freedom and socialism, the Czechoslovak people are not alone, they enjoy the sympathy of all the freedom-loving peoples of the world, including the peoples of the Soviet Union, Poland, of the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Bulgaria who are suffering under the heel of the same revisionist cliques of their respective countries that organized and carried out the aggression against Czechoslovakia and her occupation. On the side of the Czechoslovak people are all the real revolutionaries of the world. The Albanian people will always stand on the side of the Czechoslovak people in the latter's just struggle for freedom and socialism.

The aggression of the Soviet revisionists and their lackeys against Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak people terribly stained the reputation and honor of the Soviet Union, of the Soviet people, of the Soviet soldier. Whereas during the Second World War the Soviet soldier of Stalin came in Czechoslovakia as liberator today, blindly carrying out the orders of the Brezhnev-Kosygin revisionist clique, the Soviet soldier presents himself before the Czechoslovak people as an occupationist, as a «zakhvatchik» — as he is rightfully called by the Czechoslovak people. What terrible and tragic changes since the death of great Stalin! But we have faith in the Soviet people and in the genuine revolutionary communists of the Soviet Union, we are confident that they will not tolerate for long this humiliation brought to them by the revisionist renegade clique which is ruling today in Kremlin, we are confident that they will rise one day, just as they rose during the Great October Revolution, and will overthrow their revisionist traitorous leadership and will bring the Soviet Union back to the correct road of Lenin and Stalin.

The Soviet revisionist leadership has so much degenerated that it has lost all feeling and reason of human morals. Only perfidy is its morals. This clique of renegades has perfidiously behaved with regard to the Albanian people, it is perfidiously behaving towards the Vietnamese people, it is

perfidiously behaving with regard to the Arab people, it perfidiously behaved towards the Czechoslovak people, it perfidiously behaves with regard to anyone. And who can trust anymore the Soviet revisionist clique? Nobody in the world, not only their enemies, but also their friends do not trust the present-day perfidious Kremlin rulers.

All the tactical actions of the Soviet revisionist leadership, including its actions within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty, are subject to the ultimate aims of its global strategy which is based on the Soviet-U.S. alliance for the domination of the world.

Why do the U.S. imperialists accept the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the armies of the five Warsaw Treaty countries? Because the spheres of influence have long been divided: Czechoslovakia belongs to the Soviet revisionist domination. Tomorrow, should the working class, let us say in Spain, rise in revolution for the overthrow of the Franco dictatorship and the establishment of the People's Power, certainly the United States of America will interfere to quell the revolution under the wheels of its tanks, and the Soviet revisionists, if they will still be in power at that time, will accept this interference of U.S. imperialism because Spain belongs to the American sphere of influence.

While U.S. imperialism is accepting today the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the five Warsaw Treaty countries, it does so in exchange for the active collaboration of the Soviet revisionist leadership to organize the capitulation and the quelling of the struggle of the Vietnamese people against the U.S. aggression.

Today the freedom and sovereignty of the peoples, the world peace, are seriously at stake. This danger draws its source from the U.S.-Soviet collaboration. This counter-revolutionary collusion has as its ultimate aim the domination of the world by these two great powers. The NATO aggressive bloc, which is an enslaving tool in the hands of the United States of America, on the one hand, and the Warsaw Treaty, which has been turned into an enslaving tool in the hands of the Soviet revisionist leaders, on the other, are the foundation of the aggressive force on which the counterrevolutionary action of the U.S.-Soviet collaboration is based, for the realisation of their enslaving aims for the domination of the world by means of the club, fire and sword.

Today it is the historic duty of all the peoples of the

world to rise up, to unite and fight without compromise and through to the end against the U.S.-Soviet alliance for the domination of the world, to frustrate the aggressive plans of this alliance, to save the freedom of the peoples and the sovereignty of the nations from the danger threatening them on the part of the two worst enemies: U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionism, great state chauvinism.

«Peace» in Europe — war in Asia, — this is the main pivot of the global strategy of the U.S.-Soviet alliance. All and every action of these two imperialist powers, in the last analysis, is aimed at this.

Why are all the spears, both those of the U.S. imperialists and those of the Soviet revisionists, directed towards Asia? Because there stands great People's China, which has become the most powerful and insurmountable obstacle on the way of the U.S.-Soviet imperialist and revisionist plans for the domination of the world.

Great People's China has become the most powerful bulwark of socialism and communism in the world. The genuine revolutionaries and the freedom-loving peoples see in the People's Republic of China their powerful and invincible ally, the unyielding and consistent defender of the freedom of the peoples that holds high and unstained the banner of Marxism-Leninism. While for U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism the 700-million great China, tempered with the Marxist-Leninist ideas of Mao Tse-tung, is their worst enemy. Without overcoming the Chinese obstacle the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists cannot attain their ultimate strategic aim for the domination of the world. Therefore, they have directed their main spears against the People's Republic of China. They had greatly hoped to «get the fortress from within» in China. But these hopes of theirs were reduced to rubble by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which broke out and is being led by the great Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The Great Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution swept away through the Marxist-Leninist broom all the garbages in the present-day Chinese society, it purged the Chinese people's revolutionary ranks of the revisionists headed by China's Khrushchov, of the spies and enemies of revolution and socialism. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has multiplied the forces and intensified the revolutionary vitality of the Chinese people, and frustrated the counterrevolutionary hopes of the

imperialists and revisionists for the liquilation of socialism in China. Should the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists engage one day in a military adventure against Great People's China, by this action they will dig their own grave, for then nothing would save them and a sure death would lie in store for them.

We learned with great joy about the conclusion, in these recent days, of the setting up of Revolutionary Committees in all the provinces, cities and autonomous regions of the People's Republic of China, with the exception of the province of Taiwan. This is a brilliant victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teachings and ideas. We wholeheartedly congratulate the glorious Communist Party of China, the heroic Chinese working class, the fraternal Chinese people and their great leader, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, on this historic victory for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, we wish them further and continuous victories on the road of socialism and communism, for the good of the great Chinese people, for the good of the international proletariat and of all the peoples of the world.

The U.S.-Soviet plans will ignominiously fail. With great People's China and with the People's Republic of Albania, who are giving tit-for-tat to the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, are all the freedom-loving peoples of the world, all the genuine revolutionaries in the world. The general historic course of events is inevitably leading to the burial of capitalism and revisionism, which is the latter's offspring, it is leading to the triumph of socialism and communism.

Comrade Deputies,

For all the reasons explained above, the Council of Ministers, in compliance also with the decision of the Party Central Committee, proposes to the People's Assembly to decide on the denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty and the People's Republic of Albania be relieved of the obligations stemming from this treaty. I invite you, comrade Deputies, to unanimously approve the proposal on the withdrawal of the People's Republic of Albania from the Warsaw Treaty.

By withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty, the People's Republic of Albania takes a revolutionary stride. The Warsaw Treaty serves no longer the cause of socialism and peace, it

serves no longer the cause of the working class and proletarian internationalism, it has lost the ideological and class basis on which it was created, it now serves the revisionist bourgeoisie, it serves the great state chauvinistic narrow interests of the Soviet revisionist leadership, as well as the U.S.-Soviet counter-revolutionary alliance for the domination of the world. This treaty has been turned into an instrument of aggression against the peoples, in the same way as the North Atlantic Treaty which is led by the United States of America.

Withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty, we show to the whole world that the Albanian people do not recognise zones of influence of the great imperialist and revisionist powers and refuse to be a member of an aggression coalition.

We performed our duty as revolutionaries: we strove in every way that the Warsaw Treaty should serve the just aims for which it was created. This was impossible to achieve due to the antisocialist activity of the Soviet revisionist leadership, and the Warsaw Treaty lost its original character, it turned from a treaty of defence of the socialist countries against imperialist and revanchist aggression, into a treaty of aggression and into a tool in the hands of the Soviet revisionists to liquidate the freedom of the peoples of the countries participating in this Treaty. Socialist Albania cannot allow to stain its revolutionary banner by further continuing to be a member of the aggressive Warsaw Treaty. It will hold high and stainless the banner of revolution against all enemies and against all hostile treaties, both against the imperialist NATO treaty and against the revisionist Warsaw Treaty.

We know that the Soviet revisionists and their followers will propagandize with much fuss that, by withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty, the People's Republic of Albania «will remain defenceless and at the mercy of aggression by the NATO military bloc or other external enemies of Albania». We do not need the enemies to «pity» us. We answer to them with Comrade Enver Hoxha's words at the 4th Congress of the Democratic Front: *«...there are not born yet, either yesterday or today, those brave men that can intimidate the Albanians»* and *«Albania's borders are defended by a people and a Party that shower bullets into the mouths of all those who would dare to molest them»*.

We have never lived under the shadow of the Warsaw Treaty. We have always based the defence of our country on

our own forces on the steel-like revolutionary marrow of the Albanian people and of their heroic Party of Labor and on the internationalist solidarity of the peoples and of the numerous friends of Socialist Albania.

If the U.S. imperialists and their allies of the aggressive NATO bloc will think that the People's Republic of Albania, now that it is withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty may be «a morsel that can be easily swallowed» and they undertake a military aggression to occupy Albania, we respond to them again with these words of Comrade Enver Hoxha: *«Not only are Albania's borders insurmountable, inasmuch as they are defended by a brave people and an eagle-like Party which will smash you, but Albania is not alone, neither isolated. If you touch our borders, you must know that to defend Albania the aid which will come to socialist Albania will not recognize state boundaries».*

If the Soviet revisionists and their lackeys of the aggressive Warsaw Treaty may think that, with the withdrawal of the People's Republic of Albania from the Warsaw Treaty, they can grant to themselves the right to resort to their brutal force and undertake a military aggression against the People's Republic of Albania «to keep» Albania in their enslaving, we answer to them likewise with comrade Enver Hoxha's words: *«... in case you raise your knife against us, masked with demagogy, you may rest assured that we shall point our rifle at you, and the cracking of our rifle will be heard in the Soviet Union and in the other countries where will rise as a tempest on your heads the terrible fist of the Leninists, of the brave and fraternal Soviet people. Thus your deathknell will have been sounded.»*

We, the Deputies to the Popular Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania, adopting this decision, are honorably discharging our duty as representatives of the people's will, we justify before the people the confidence they have in us, and we assume the whole responsibility before our people and our Party, as well as before the entire international communist movement. We are aware that our decision is just and fully responds to the supreme interests of our people and our socialist homeland, to the supreme interests of socialism, it serves the strengthening of peace in Europe and in the world.

By withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty, we deal a heavy blow at the great state anti-socialist and chauvinistic

policy which is being passionately pursued by the present-day Soviet leadership, we deal a heavy blow at the U.S.-Soviet collaboration.

We are confident that the peoples of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty will understand and will welcome the withdrawal of our country from the Warsaw Treaty, they will consider it as an external aid being given to them in the struggle they are waging against the ruling revisionist cliques of their countries.

The real friend is recognized in difficult days, a saying of our people goes. The most difficult days are being lived today by the Czechoslovak people who are suffering under the domination of foreign occupationists and of the local collaborationist and revisionist clique. By their revolutionary attitude and struggle the Albanian people show their real internationalist friendship towards the Czechoslovak people. By their consistent revolutionary attitude and struggle the Albanian people show the real internationalist friendship towards the Soviet people and the peoples of the countries where the revisionists are in power.

Comrade Deputies.

By withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty, the defensive positions of the People's Republic of Albania become still stronger. The Party and the Government have adopted and will adopt all the measures for the strengthening of the defensive power of our country. The Defence Council of the Republic, under the leadership of the Commander-in-Chief of our armed forces, comrade Enver Hoxha and on the basis of the directives of the Party Central Committee, has considered all the eventualities and has taken all the necessary measures for the strengthening of the country's defensive might. We are in a position today to cope with any aggression, of whatever power and size it may be. In defence of our socialist homeland stand not only the armed forces, but also the whole armed people, men and women, old and young. The fighting preparedness of the People's Republic of Albania has reached the necessary degree that makes it possible for us to defeat any aggression even in the most difficult circumstances.

The People's Republic of Albania has pursued and is

pursuing a peaceful foreign policy. Our country attacks nobody, while others have always attacked us. We will consistently continue our foreign policy of peace and good neighbourliness.

The borders of the People's Republic of Albania are inviolable. In case of aggression against our socialist homeland by external enemies, be they members of the imperialist military NATO bloc or members of the revisionist military Warsaw Treaty, whoever it may be, then the Albanian people, united to a man around the Party and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, will show to the whole world the full magnificence of their revolutionary vitality: the entire people, even the children, will fight for the defence of the homeland, the war will assume a complicated, lethal character for the aggressor, and it will be boundless, it will be waged in all its forms, according to the principles of the people's war, the front and the rear-line are merged into a single unity, and without distinction between them, army and people will make up a single fighting whole.

The Albanian people are not alone, but they have numerous and faithful friends. In the first place, the best and the most faithful friend of the Albanian people is Great People's China of over 700 million strong, which is the main force in the world against imperialism and revisionism. The great leader of the Chinese people and the closest friend of the Albanian people, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in his message addressed to the 5th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania in 1966, said: *«you may rest assured, comrades, that come what may in the world, our two Parties and our two peoples will for sure remain together, they will fight together and they will win together»*. And the acting force of the great Albanian-Chinese friendship must not be overlooked by the external enemies of socialist Albania.

With the cause of the Albanian people are also all the freedom-loving peoples of the world, all the real revolutionaries in the world, including also the peoples and real revolutionaries of the Soviet Union and of the other countries where the revisionists are in power.

It is our duty, comrades Deputies, to accompany the decision which we will adopt at this assembly for the withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty, with a further upsurge of the revolutionary vigor of our Party, the people, the state organs, the mass organisations for the all-out strengthening

of the country's defence and for a still better fulfilment of the state plan targets. We must uphold militant slogan «the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other» still higher in implementing it for the achievement of still greater victories in the building of socialism and for making the defence system of our socialist homeland insurmountable by any military power of any eventual aggressor.

Political clarity and proletarian ideological education, placing politics on the forefront, the consistent implementation of the mass line, the strengthening of the steel-like unity of our ranks, the tireless work and reliance on one's own forces, the sharpening of revolutionary vigilance and the strengthening of proletarian discipline, the increase of fighting preparedness for the defence of the homeland, the revolutionary determination for the implementation of the Party line, — such are permanent fundamental duties which the Party has long laid down for us, and on which stress must be laid today more than ever before.

There is no force in the world that can prevent our people from forging always ahead, victorious, on the glorious road of socialism and communism.

Glory to our heroic Party, to our heroic people and to our heroic army!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

LAW

«ON THE DENUNCIATION BY THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA OF THE TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, COLLABORATION AND MUTUAL AID BETWEEN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA, THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA, THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF HUNGARY, THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF POLAND, THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF RUMANIA, THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC»

The Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Aid concluded in Warsaw on May 14, 1955 by the eight socialist States of Europe was designed to guarantee by their joint forces their own security from any imperialist aggression, especially, from the U.S.-led North Atlantic bloc, as well as to strengthen the all-round collaboration among Socialist States on the basis of the high principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

It was on these high objectives of the Treaty that the People's Republic of Albania based its decision to take part in and render its entire contribution to it. The People's Republic of Albania has faithfully observed the spirit and dispositions of the Treaty.

The Government of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and the Governments of the other Member States of the Treaty, contrary to the basic dispositions of the Treaty, have thoroughly distorted the purpose for which the Treaty was set up.

Whereas, the Warsaw Treaty has been seriously and systematically violated as regards the People's Republic of Albania (Articles 3, 5, 6, 7 and 8) by the Government of the

Soviet Union and the Governments of the other Member States of the Treaty aligned with it,

Whereas, all the activity of the Government of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and of the Governments of the other Member States of the Treaty aligned with it serves the imperialist aim of Soviet-U.S. collusion to dominate the world to the detriment of the fundamental interests of peoples, a thing which is in flagrant contradiction with the spirit of the Treaty,

Whereas, the aggression committed by the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, the People's Republic of Poland, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Hungary, the People's Republic of Bulgaria against the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic showed that the Treaty in question has been trampled upon in the most brutal manner and has been turned from a means of defense against imperialist aggression into a means of assault against its Members themselves, and,

In line with Article 58, paragraph 9, of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania and, on the proposal of the Council of Ministers of Albania, the Popular Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania.

RESOLVED :

Article 1

The Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Aid concluded between the People's Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the People's Republic of Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Poland, the People's Republic of Rumania, the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Republic signed in Warsaw on May 14, 1955 is hereby denounced and the People's Republic of Albania is freed from any obligations which emanate from this Treaty.

Article 2

The Law No 2063, dt. May 28, 1955 on the Ratification of the Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Aid

between the People's Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the People's Republic of Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Poland, the People's Republic of Rumania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Republic is declared null and void.

Article 3

This Law enters into effect immediately.

Tirana, September 13th, 1968

No 4425

CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE
POPULAR ASSEMBLY OF THE PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

HAXHI LLESHI

SECRETARY OF THE PRESIDUM OF
THE POPULAR ASSEMBLY OF THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

BILBIL KLOSI

STATEMENT

**BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF
LABOR AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA ON THE
AGGRESSION BY SOVIET REVISIONISTS AND THEIR
SATELLITES AGAINST THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIAL-
LIST REPUBLIC AND THE CZECHOSLOVAK PEOPLE**

On the night of August 20-21, 1968, the armed forces of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of Poland, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Hungary and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, in open contradiction with all norms governing relations among states and in a sudden and perfidious manner, resorting to fascist methods committed a brutal aggression against the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Czechoslovak people occupying by force the territory of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

While the invading armed forces attacked and entered Czechoslovak territory from many directions simultaneously, the revisionist treacherous Czechoslovak leadership with Alexander Dubcek in its lead, consistently following their line of betraying the interests of their own people and terrified by the might of the aggressors, capitulated in the most shameful way, calling on the Czechoslovak people and their army not to put up any resistance at all in defence of their Fatherland, against the foreign invading armed forces.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labor and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania most resolutely condemn and denounce the barbarous aggression by

the Soviet revisionists and their stooges against the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Czechoslovak people as well as the betrayal and capitulation by the Czechoslovak revisionist leadership.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labor and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania consider that the Czechoslovak tragedy draws its origin from the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which threw the Marxist-Leninist line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin overboards replacing it with the revisionist reactionary Khrushchov line which led to the revival of the revisionist forces in Czechoslovakia and which led to catastrophical consequences in the Soviet Union itself and put the international communist movement as a whole into a difficult situation. The military occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet revisionists and their stooges is a product of the global strategy of collaboration between the treacherous revisionist Soviet leadership and U.S. imperialism.

The aggression committed by the Soviet revisionists and their stooges against Czechoslovakia is an aggression of the fascist type and constitutes a flagrant violation of the principle of the freedom and sovereignty of the peoples. This shameful aggression is the most thorough-going humiliation brought upon the honor and prestige of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people by the Brezhnev-Kosygin Khrushchevite revisionist clique. Following this vile aggression no one in the world can have the slightest confidence in the revisionist Soviet leadership. This is the greatest warning to the Soviet people, to the peoples of the socialist countries and the peoples and countries ruled by the revisionist cliques, to the peoples of Europe and of the whole world about the danger posed by the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique which is ruling today in the Soviet Union and about its imperialist and fascist aims and methods for establishing its domination over the peoples by relying on its cooperation with U.S. imperialism.

The revisionist aggression against the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which was carried out in the name of the Warsaw Treaty, once again confirms what the Party of Labor and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania have long declared, namely, that the Warsaw Treaty has ceased to be a defensive pact of the participant socialist

countries against imperialist aggression and West German revanchism. From a peace treaty, the Warsaw treaty, has been turned to a treaty of enslaving war, from a treaty of defence against imperialist aggression, it has been turned into an aggressive treaty against the socialist countries themselves. Therefore, the Party of Labor, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people condemn with disgust this aggressive treaty and solemnly declare that whoever dare encroach upon the sacred borders of the People's Republic of Albania, be they even the members of the Warsaw Treaty, will most surely be rebuffed and defeated by the Albanian people who are united as a single body round their Party and Government.

In these tragic moments for the Czechoslovak people, the Party of Labor, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people express their most determined internationalist solidarity with and support for the fraternal Czechoslovak people. They have faith in the revolutionary and freedom-loving spirit of the Czechoslovak people. They consider that the sole road of salvation for the Czechoslovak people, if they are to regain their freedom, is the road of uncompromising struggle to the end against the foreign revisionist Soviet, German, Polish, Hungarian and Bulgarian invaders, of war against U.S. imperialism and West German revanchism, of struggle against the revisionists and reactionaries of all shades within their own country. This struggle will be a long and arduous one, but it is the sole correct way possible for the salvation of Czechoslovakia, for the defence of freedom and socialism. The Albanian people have followed this road; that is why they are today free and sovereign and have frustrated all imperialists and revisionists plots.

The Albanian people are convinced by their own experience and their age-old history that freedom is not donated, but is won with blood and sacrifices. Therefore, the Party of Labor, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people call on the genuine revolutionary communists of Czechoslovakia and the freedom-loving Czechoslovak people to rise up in an uncompromising struggle and fight through to the end against the revisionist invaders and against the internal enemies; and they may rest assured that they are not alone, that all the freedom-loving peoples of the world side with their struggle

and that siding with them are the genuine revolutionary communists and peoples of the Soviet Union, of the German Democratic Republic, of Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria, who are languishing under the yoke of the revisionist cliques, which organized the barbarous aggression against Czechoslovakia. The Albanian communists and people will always side with the struggle of the Czechoslovak people for freedom. The Czechoslovak people will, for sure, emerge victorious from this liberation war.

The Party of Labor, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people have faith in and call on the genuine Soviet bolsheviks and the Soviet people to rise up in struggle against the revisionist fascist clique which is oppressing them, to re-stage the Great October Socialist Revolution, to bury once for all the infamous 20th Congress and its tragic consequences in the national and international arena, to overthrow the revisionist Brezhnev and Kosygin clique, and to make the Soviet invading forces leave Czechoslovakia and all other countries where they have been stationed for domination.

The Party of Labor, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people call on all revolutionary communists and freedom-loving peoples in the world to solidarize with the sacred cause of freedom of the Czechoslovak people, to denounce this barbarous aggression of the Soviet revisionists and their stooges and to smash the big Soviet-U.S. plot for world domination, a plot that is becoming a basis for the revival of fascist methods in oppressing the people and depriving them of their freedom.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA

THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

Tirana, 22nd August 1968

TELEGRAM

To COMRADE MAO TSE—TUNG

Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

To COMRADE LIN PIAO

Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

To COMRADE CHOU EN—LAI

Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of China

P e k i n g

The Albanian people learned with unbounded joy of the establishment of revolutionary committees in the autonomous Tibetan and Sinkiang-Uygur regions, this completing the establishment in great People's China of the revolutionary committees which are organs of the revolutionary power of the proletarian dictatorship. The red banner of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which is led by the Marxist-Leninist ideas of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, today flies victoriously on all the parts of your glorious country, with the exception of the Taiwan province which is still occupied by the U.S.-imperialists.

On the occasion of this great victory of historic significance not only for the Chinese people but also for the entire progressive mankind, we feel very happy that, on behalf of the Albanian people, of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania and of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, we can send You, dear

Comrades, and through You, to the fraternal Chinese People, the glorious Chinese Communist Party, the Cultural Revolution Group attached to the Central Committee of the Party and the Government of the People's Republic of China, our warmest wishes and revolutionary greetings.

The establishment of revolutionary committees in great China as a whole marks the final triumph of the Marxist-Leninist ideas of the eminent leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung over the reactionary counterrevolutionary line of China's Khrushchov. This brilliant victory of the thought, line and strategy of the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Mao Tse-tung marked the final failure and disarray of the great counterrevolutionary plot of China's Khrushchov which aimed at turning the proletarian dictatorship into a bourgeois dictatorship and at restoring capitalism in China.

The plans and hopes of the U.S. — imperialists, Soviet revisionists and the other reactionaries to prevent China from forging ahead along the road of socialism and revolution and their plots and efforts to turn back the wheel of history failed with utter shame; they were smashed to pieces by the irrepressible power and the revolutionary impetus of the great Chinese people. The triumph of the Great Chinese proletarian cultural revolution deals a death blow at the imperialists, with the U.S. imperialists in the lead, and at the other reactionaries. Let the enemies of the peoples and of revolution tremble with fear from this colossal victory, their doom is sealed, Marxism-Leninism will triumph.

Today, when the U.S. — imperialists and their revisionist Khrushchovite stooges, enraged by the successive defeats they are suffering, have become more aggressive than ever, the eyes, hearts and brains of the peoples languishing under the heel of imperialism and revisionism are directed to the People's Republic of China which is a powerful and loyal defender of the peoples, an unsurmountable hindrance for the aggressive plans of the United States of America and of the treacherous revisionist clique of the Soviet Union. The U.S. — imperialists and their lackeys, the Khrushchovite revisionists, united hand in hand in their infamous Soviet — U.S. alliance, carrying out their imperialist plans for the division of the world into zones of influence, resorting to demagoguery and brutal force, try to fool the peoples and rule over them. With the greatest cynicism they commit aggression against peoples and

sovereign states in order to rob them of their freedom and national independence. But, in spite of all their diabolic endeavors, they will never succeed in suppressing the struggle of the peoples for freedom; on the contrary, they will meet with certain failure, and the great flames of the revolutionary movement that is spreading all over the world will wipe them out of existence.

The Albanian people who are linked by a great fraternal friendship with the glorious Chinese people, consider the establishment of revolutionary committees all over China as a great victory of theirs, as an historic victory of Marxism-Leninism and of the cause of world proletarian revolution. The Albanian people and the great Chinese people and our two parties, in steel-like unity between them, will consistently strengthen their eternal alliance and friendship, they will march ever ahead, will break down and smash any imperialist and revisionist plot, will score new and repeated successes in their struggle for the defence of the higher interests of their countries, for the great cause of the triumph of socialism and communism in the world.

Hailing once more the establishment of revolutionary committees all over China, this magnificent victory of historic significance for the fates of mankind, we wish with all our heart that the great heroic Chinese people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party led by its great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung, may score ever greater successes in their glorious path of revolution, socialism and communism.

Long live the great and unbreakable combative friendship between Albania and China!

Long live the all-out victory of the Great Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

ENVER HOXHA

First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Party of Labor of Albania

MEHMET SHEHU

Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of the People's Republic of Albania

Tirana, September 9th, 1968

TELEGRAM

To COMRADE ENVER HOXHA

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania.

To COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania.

T i r a n a

We received your telegram of extremely warm greetings at a time when Revolutionary Committees have been established in all the twenty nine provinces, in the cities and autonomous districts of our country with the exception of the province of Taiwan. This is a great inspiration and a great support for the Chinese people who are scoring an all-out victory in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Therefore, we express to you our sincerest thanks and highest esteem.

Under the wise leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania with the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Enver Hoxha in the lead, the heroic Albanian people have launched their movement for revolutionization which is of major importance to socialist revolution, and have scored one victory after another. The revolution in the field of education and control by the working class, started this year on the initiative of Comrade Enver Hoxha, have enriched this movement and have helped promote it. We most warmly greet the fraternal Albanian people on the occasion of the ever brilliant achievements they have attained along the path of revolutionization. These achievements enable Albania, this great beacon of socialism in Europe, to shine further and ever brighter.

Some days ago, the People's Republic of Albania solemnly proclaimed its decision to withdraw from the Warsaw Treaty and a bill was passed to this effect. This is a further heavy blow dealt at the Soviet renegade revisionist clique as well as a great encouragement for the peoples of Eastern Europe in their struggle against this clique. The Warsaw Treaty has long become a tool of the Khrushchevite revisionist clique to practice its big Power chauvinism and national egotism and to control and plunder the peoples of Eastern Europe. It has long become a tool of the Soviet renegade revisionist clique to strike up bargains with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization which is controlled by U.S. imperialism for a more effective U.S.-Soviet collaboration to dominate the world. Recently, the Soviet renegade revisionist clique mobilized its revisionist partners of Poland, East Germany, Hungary and Bulgaria and, impudently using the Warsaw Treaty as a mask, undertook the armed aggression against Czechoslovakia, committing thus nefarious crimes against the Czechoslovak people. This laid bare the aggressive and reactionary nature of the Treaty before the peoples of the world. The Czechoslovak revisionist clique betrayed the Czechoslovak people in the most shameful way by its policy of selling the country off and capitulating to the aggressors. Under the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania with its eminent leader Comrade Enver Hoxha at the helm, the Albanian people have long been waging a resolute struggle against the Soviet revisionist clique of renegades for the different criminal activities it has perpetrated through the Warsaw Treaty. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people highly appreciate the principled Marxist-Leninist and proletarian internationalist stand maintained by the Party of Labor of Albania and the Albanian people in this struggle.

We resolutely support the People's Republic of Albania and the fraternal Albanian people in their revolutionary decision to withdraw from the Warsaw Treaty; we resolutely support the peoples of Eastern Europe in their just struggle against the Warsaw Treaty Organization; we resolutely support the peoples of Western Europe in their just struggle against NATO and other aggressive treaties controlled by U.S. imperialism; we firmly support the revolutionary wars waged by the peoples of all countries which are objects of aggression, control, enslavement or intimidation by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism.

The great proletarian militant friendship between the

peoples of China and Albania which has been forged in revolutionary storms will cope with any hard test. The 700-million strong Chinese people who have waxed still stronger and more tempered through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, will consistently and unwaveringly side with the Albanian people under whatever circumstances. If the U.S. imperialists, the modern revisionists and their lackeys would dare touch even a hair of Albania they will get nothing less than complete, shameful and inevitable defeat.

Dear Comrades!

In collusion with each other, the Soviet revisionists and the U.S. imperialists have perpetrated so many and such ugly misdeeds that the revolutionary peoples of the world will not fail to mete out to them the punishment they deserve. The peoples of all countries are rising to their feet. A new historical phase of the struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun. Let us raise still higher the revolutionary red flag of Marxism-Leninism and march ahead side by side to this great struggle against the U.S. — led imperialists and the modern revisionists headed by those of the Soviet Union and against the reactionaries of all descriptions hitched to the cart of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism!

Long live the great and unbreakable combative friendship between the peoples of China and Albania!

Long live the heroic Albanian people!

MAO TSE-TUNG

Chairman of the Central Committee of the
Chinese Communist Party.

LIN PIAO

Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the
Chinese Communist Party

CHOU EN-LAI

Chairman of the State Council of the
People's Republic of China.

**NOTE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA ADDRESSED TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF
BULGARIA**

Since, as is well known, the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, for premeditated and ulterior purposes, expelled on July 22, 1968, the Ambassador and all the Diplomatic Staff of the People's Republic of Albania accredited to Sofia without reason whatsoever, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania sent the following Note to the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria by wire:

**TO THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA**

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania are in possession of incontestable evidence that important detachments of various services of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union are stationed on the territory of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Following the aggression committed against the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic by the armed forces of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of Poland, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Hungary and the People's Republic of Bulgaria it is evident that stationing the armed forces of the Soviet Khrushchovite revisionists in Bulgaria is aimed at carrying out an aggressive chauvinist big State Policy in the Balkans and in the world.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania considers that the territory of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

has been allowed by its Government to be turned into a dangerous base for eventual aggressive operations seriously jeopardizing the interests of peace and, particularly, the vital interests of all the Balkan peoples including those of the Bulgarian people themselves.

It is beyond any doubt that the concentration of the armed forces of the Soviet revisionists on the territory of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has no defensive character whatsoever. Stationing Soviet aggressive armed forces on Bulgarian territory is in flagrant contradiction with the spirit and dispositions of the Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Aid between the People's Republic of Albania and People's Republic of Bulgaria signed in December 1947. Moreover, stationing aggressive Soviet forces on Bulgarian territory is in open contradiction with the engagements taken by the Bulgarian Government under this Treaty not to undertake any action to the detriment of the Balkan peoples which would affect and encroach upon the independence, freedom, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the States of this region as well as the cause of peace and international security.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, guided by the Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party of Labor of Albania, a policy aimed at resolutely protecting the freedom, independence and sovereignty of its country in defense of which stands guard arm in hand a heroic and hawk-eyed people, pursuing its policy of not encroaching upon the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the other peoples of the world, and particularly of the Balkan peoples, and based on the Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Aid between the People's Republic of Albania and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, one of whose objectives is to safeguard peace in the Balkans and secure international collaboration, demand of the Bulgarian Government:

1. — not to allow and not to take part in any activity whatsoever directed against the People's Republic of Albania as specified in the Albanian-Bulgarian Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Aid;

2. — to take immediate steps to bring about the withdrawal of the Soviet aggressive armed forces from its territory as soon as possible and thus liquidate completely, for the sake of peace in the Balkans and in the world, this hot-bed of aggression which has been allowed to be created on Bulgarian territory.

Otherwise, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania deems it necessary to emphasize that in case the Bulgarian Government, in violation of the obligations deriving from the 1947 December Treaty and of the fundamental principles governing inter-State relations, continues to allow the further stay of the Soviet troops on Bulgarian territory and the use of this territory as an aggressive base against the Balkan peoples, it will take upon itself a heavy responsibility before the peoples of the world and, first and foremost, before the Bulgarian people themselves.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, on its part, while abiding by the Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Aid concluded between the People's Republic of Albania and the People's Republic of Bulgaria in December 1947, considers it necessary to make it fully and publicly clear that it will resolutely condemn all those who will dare undertake aggressive actions against the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the peoples of the Balkans and of the world.

The Albanian people express their confidence that the revolutionary Bulgarian people with whom they are linked with everlasting bonds of long standing fraternal friendship will understand aright this demarche of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania which is, at the same time, to the great interest of the Bulgarian people themselves. The Albanian people are confident that fraternal Bulgarian people will remain loyal to their tradition of fighting for freedom and independence, to the Marxist-Leninist teachings of immortal George Dimitrov and will never reconcile themselves with the violation of the Albanian-Bulgarian Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Aid and will never tolerate that the territory of their homeland may be used as a place d'armes to attack other peoples.

THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

Tirana September 21, 1968

July 10, 1968 marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the People's Army of Albania. This anniversary was commemorated with flying colors all over the country.

A mass rally of the workers of the Capital took place in Tirana to commemorate this event and Comrade Beqir Balluku, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor and Minister of Defense of the People's Republic of Albania addressed it in the following terms:

Dear Comrades!

Workers of our glorious Capital!

It is in the atmosphere of a major revolutionary drive to further the socialist revolution in our country when old and young have risen in a body and are marching ahead with determination and optimism to implement the historic decisions of the 5th Party Congress, that our workers, peasants, people's intellectuals and army men are commemorating one of the most notable events in the history of socialist Albania, namely, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of our People's Army.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of our People's Army is being celebrated today in our free socialist Albania with the great rejoicing, enthusiasm and pride of all our people because our People's Army, guided by our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, has always obediently and firmly fulfilled the historic tasks pertaining to it as the armed force of our workers and peasants risen in revolution to free their homeland from invaders and to respond to the

violence of the foreign Italian and German invaders and the feudal bourgeois classes of our country with the revolutionary armed violence. As a result of the unprecedented struggle led by the Communist Party (now the Party of Labor) of Albania, on November 29, 1944, our people, relying on their own efforts, freed the country from foreign invaders, completely overthrew the rule of the exploiting classes and established their own revolutionary regime — the dictatorship of the proletariat. This brought about the necessary condition for the deep socialist transformations which have turned and are continually turning our country into a more prosperous and powerful one, into an invincible bastion of Marxism-Leninism in Europe which is always being guarded with vigilance by the Party of Labor of Albania, by the people and their People's Army.

On this memorable day our laboring masses and the effectives of our Armed Forces honor with deep respect the memory of our martyrs, they bow with reverence before the supreme sacrifice of the heroic sons and daughters of our country and Party who fell in the field of battle fighting for the liberation and defense of our homeland sparing nothing in securing freedom and happiness for the people. Their proletarian patriotism will be a source of inspiration for our youth and for all the coming generations to raise ever higher the glory of our people and Party, to turn into an invincible bastion and lead to prosperity the homeland of Skanderbeg and Naim Frashëri, of Ismail Qemal and Bajram Curri, of Ali Këlmendi and Halim Xhelo, of Qemal Stafa, Vojo Kushi, Perlat Rexhepi, Zonja Curre and Asim Zeneli, the homeland of the thousands upon thousands of martyrs fallen for the liberation, defense and construction of our socialist Albania.

Looking back on the difficult but heroic road they had to traverse in order to achieve victory over external and internal enemies, on this glorious jubilee our people address their deep gratitude to their glorious Party of Labor and its founder, Comrade Enver Hoxha, who at the most critical moments when the country was occupied by the nazi and fascists and abandoned and betrayed by its feudal and bourgeois classes, succeeded in correctly mapping out the course to win over our enemies — *the organization of the armed uprising* of the laboring masses of the country and the establishment in the heat of battle, of the regular people's armed forces. Without this revolutionary line established by

the Party and firmly upheld by all our patriotic and freedom-loving people, our country would not have been liberated from the foreign invaders and from the yoke of the feudal and bourgeois classes of the country, the dictatorship of the proletariat would not have been established and Albania would not have marched as it is marching today, head erect and undaunted along the road of socialist development and the destiny of our homeland and people would have been left at the mercy of the imperialist wolves.

These gigantic victories of our people were achieved at great sacrifice thanks to the valor, determination and unprecedented heroism of the masses engaged in an unequal battle against external and internal enemies who aspired to perpetuate oppression, backwardness and criminal exploitation towards them.

Their age-long suffering and the lessons our people have drawn from their heroic struggle against external and internal enemies, against oppression, against being looked down upon, against poverty and backwardness have firmly convinced them that without their Marxist-Leninist Party and without their People's Armed Forces, led by our Party, they can not have their free future full of dignity guaranteed.

In all the historical stages our country has passed through the general line of our Party of Labor has shined and shines like crystal for its ideological purity and organizational skill. Taking their clue from this line our Party and Comrade Enver have done a lot of good work in the field of building the army, of developing and applying the people's military art in a creative manner under the specific conditions of the country and situations on the basis of the teachings of Marxist-Leninist military science.

It was at the most critical moments, when our people were languishing under the shackles of fascist bondage, when all Europe was occupied, when the armies of the fascist and nazi aggressors were in the heyday of victory, when the Hitlerites were fighting at the gates of Moscow, that the Albanian people launched their National-liberation War under the leadership of the Communist Party.

In this situation, our Party and people, inspired by Comrade Enver Hoxha's teaching that *freedom is not donated as a gift but must be fought for at a sacrifice and with bloodshed*, asked not what others would do, did not recoil before the myth of the insuperableness of the aggressive armies of

the fascist and nazi coalition, they did not wait for some one to offer them their freedom as a boon but took up arms and launched their armed war to liberate the country.

Applying these teachings of Comrade Enver which express the assessment of the internal factor as a decisive one in all developments, our Party from the very start acted as a mature and tempered Marxist-Leninist party, as an undaunted shock brigade of the proletariat, as a farsighted organizer and leader of the urban and rural working masses who had risen in armed struggle to liberate their country languishing under fetters and to establish their People's Power. At the same time, as a Marxist-Leninist Party which is guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism, it linked the war of our people with the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, led by J.V. Stalin's genius and with the war of other oppressed peoples. Our people rendered a major contribution to the joint struggle of peoples against fascism and nazism. By its people's national-liberation struggle our country nailed down and fought continually against over 15 Italian and German divisions causing them complete disaster. During the whole period of the Second World War, the National-liberation War of our people kept under constant threat the south-eastern flank of the Italian and German military groupings which operated against the Soviet Union and the other enslaved peoples of Southeastern Europe.

Albania is the only country in the Balkans and in Europe which was liberated from fascist bondage by its own armed forces, taking advantage of the magnificent successes of the Red Army directed by great Stalin and its triumphal march into the heart of Europe and the Balkans only as a decisive external factor in destroying the fascist military machine. No other country except the Soviet Union has given so much bloodshed and sacrifices in proportion to its population as our country to the joint victory over fascism.

Regardless of what aspersions the bourgeois and revisionist falsifiers of historical facts may cast, the people who have themselves been victims of fascist bondage will never forget that Albania, a tiny country of a little over one million inhabitants has offered to the common cause of liberation over 28,000 martyrs and tens of thousands of urban and rural homes burned to ashes, that due to bitter and bloody encounters the territory of Albania was turned into

a battlefield and a graveyard for the Italian and German invaders.

Our army fought heroically for the liberation of our brothers living in Košova and the Dukagjini Plateau. Imbued by the Party with sentiments of proletarian internationalism, it gave direct aid to the liberation of the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia with the force of its two divisions who fought heroically in Montenegro, Bosnya and Herzegovina.

In their armed National-liberation War our people were guided by the Marxist-Leninist principle that people should respond to foreign aggression and invasion with armed liberation war, to the counter-revolution of the bourgeoisie and reaction with armed revolution of the laboring masses. These ideas of the Party were deeply inculcated in the conscience of the working masses of the country and among the ranks of their newly set up and developing armed forces. They imbued our men with lofty militant and revolutionary qualities at an unprecedented level, with such qualities as ardent love of freedom and of country, revolutionary determination not to kowtow to any one, political clarity to find their bearings under all situations, confidence in their own forces, valor at battle and revolutionary optimism, the spirit to forge ahead, the willpower to grapple with and overcome any obstacle lying in the way of the unequal war with the enemy.

With these qualities to our credit and working out our own military art of people's war, our Party counterweighed the superiority in troops and military equipment of the enemy with the qualitative superiority of our National-liberation Army and of our people in fighting which was characterized by a high class sense of duty, by the spirit of self-denial, by the eagerness to attack the invader everywhere and at every time, by the ability of our fighters to trap the enemy, to deal repeated blows at them, to take the initiative from their hands and then pass from minor military operations to decisive ones for the gradual liberation of cities and districts until the complete liberation of the country was attained.

The military art of our National-liberation Army was shaped in the heat of battle. Its principles passed the test and developed not in schools and cabinets but in the field of battle. Its ideological basis lay in Marxist-Leninist science and in the general line of the Party for the liberation of the country from the invaders and for the establishment of People's Power. Its political and social basis lay in the Na-

tional-liberation Front, guided by the Communist Party, which included in its ranks the working masses led by the working class, all the patriots of the country, a revolutionary people's government in its infancy, but growing and waxing strong. The economic basis of our military art lay in the poor and deplorable economy of our heroic people who spared nothing for the war, in the depots and armaments of the invaders which our brave partisans seized by battle, sacrifice and bloodshed, and used both for their own needs as well as for the needs of the population of the liberated regions. The military basis of our art of the people's warfare in the National-liberation War lay in the military experience of our people accumulated during centuries of their fighting against enemies superior in numbers, in the general principles of the Marxist-Leninist science on armed uprisings and partisan warfare of peoples which our Party applied in a creative way adapting them to the specific conditions of our own reality.

Side by side with the raising of the political awareness of the working masses of our country and with the latter's active participation in the people's, National-liberation War, the Party adopted correct forms of organization of the army and kept improving them beginning with the initial form of guerrilla units to higher forms of companies, battalions and groups and then to the highest forms like military zones and districts which, from July 10, 1943 and onwards, have been directed by the General Staff of the Army headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

This qualitative organizational improvement of the National-liberation Army and its direction by the General Staff marked the transformation of separate partizan units into a regular people's National-liberation Army. This event marks the founding of our armed forces capable of bringing about the complete liberation of the country from the foreign yoke, the stage of general uprising and the establishment of People's Rule.

Following the formation of the General Staff, in its strategic plan the Party called on the people and the Army to set to work and bring about the complete liberation of the country. The people and their army responded to this call with an unprecedented preparedness and mobilization. Brigades, Divisions and Army Corps were organized in rapid succession and operations began to effect the ultimate libe-

ration of the occupied urban centers and rural areas culminating in the complete annihilation of the army of the nazi occupationists and internal reaction on November 29, 1944. Albania, our beloved homeland, embarked on the period of deep socialist transformations. The Albanian people took the reins of state into their own hands. Our People's Republic emerged in the international arena as a free and independent state of the emancipated workers and peasants.

Our people and army were able to honorably carry out this major historic task because, in the heat of battle, they applied Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings on the superiority of just over unjust wars, on the possibility of organizing and swelling the ranks of the people's liberation army under conditions of foreign occupation, on the priority of Party politics and ideology over any other form of education and training of the new man, on the priority of internal over external factors, on the indispensability of strengthening the Party leadership in the armed forces and the continuous tightening of army-people relations and unity as a basis for the victory of the army in an armed war and for continually strengthening its popular revolutionary character.

Comrades!

During the last twenty four years after liberation the Albanian people, firmly applying the Marxist-Leninist teachings of the Party, have effected deep revolutionary transformations in all directions. Our country, which used to be the most backward country in Europe before liberation, has now been turned into an advanced one with improved socialist industry and agriculture, with socialist education and culture. Socialist relations in production reign supreme in our country and the Albanian people are now well on the way to completing the building of socialism through continually intensifying its ideological and cultural revolution.

As far back as during the National-liberation War, our people and Party were well aware that, just as the country could not have been liberated without armed struggle and the formation and growth of the National-liberation Army, so could socialism not be built and safeguarded without strengthening and modernizing the People's Army — the armed flank of the people in power, the armed force of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

After liberation, therefore, the Party, while working out

its general line for socialist transformations, for building, perfecting and revolutionizing all the elements of the superstructure, devoted special attention to the defense of the country, to the development and perfecting of the Armed Forces in order to make them modern armed forces of the socialist State, trained politically and militarily and well equipped with weapons to defend the country and safeguard the achievements of people's revolution from any external and internal enemy.

It is precisely because our Party, our people and their Armed Forces were properly trained for this major patriotic mission, being always alert and on their guard, that they succeeded in frustrating the attempts of the English and U.S. imperialists to intrude in Albania, that the many provocations of the Greek monarchic fascists and Yugoslav Titoites against our country came to naught, that the schemes of the modern revisionists to take our socialist bastion from within were brought to light and turned to rubble. Led by our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, our Army waxed strong and became modernized in battle with the Titoites who attempted to deviate it from its course, in battle with the Khrushchevite revisionists who intended to detach from the people and the Party their legitimate and cherished offspring whose sole ideal has been and will always be to defend the cause of the Party and people, to defend socialism and communism. Thus, every blockade the imperialists and revisionists have set up to block the way of progress for our people has met with disgraceful failure. Their plots were detected and cut in the nib thanks to the vigilance, determination and patriotism of our working class, of our peasantry, people's intelligentsia and our revolutionary Armed Forces led by our Party.

At this historical stage of development of our socialist revolution under conditions of the aggravation of the international situation due to the betrayal of the cause of socialism and communism on the part of the Khrushchevite revisionist clique and their collaborators, the modern revisionists of all shades, our Party and Government took further steps to modernize our Armed Forces in order to defend our free homeland and to keep developing our socialist revolution.

While working out the method of developing our people's military art of the post-liberation period, our Party has studied and has taken all the measures necessary for a general preparation to cope with even the most critical situations and,

in case of aggression, to score final victory over the aggressors regardless of how long this war may last. Our people's military art is guided by the Marxist-Leninist ideology of our Party of Labor, an ideology tested in revolutionary battles, in political, ideological and psychological struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys — the modern Khrushchevite and Titoite revisionists. It is based on our social and socialist state order, on the alliance of our working class with the cooperative peasantry, on the experience of our people's National-liberation War, on the Marxist-Leninist military science applied in compliance with the specific conditions of our country and on the experience of the revolutionary struggles of all peoples.

The question of defense of our socialist homeland has become the vital concern of all our people. Educated by our Party, our laboring masses never draw the line between the socialist construction and the defense of our homeland and of the achievements of our revolution. With us, every citizen is a soldier ready to take up arms when the need arises. Our people lack nothing as far as the completion of socialist construction and its defense goes. Any aggressor who will dare to molest us however slightly, will be crushed for certain in the whirl of our people's victorious war. Our country is not alone. The 700-million strong Chinese people, led by the great and glorious Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung march shoulder to shoulder with us. All the people fighting for freedom, independence and progress march also shoulder to shoulder with us. Today, our country has become dear to all the Marxist-Leninists in the world, to all the genuine revolutionaries who fight against imperialism and revisionism.

Comrades!

We are commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of our People's Army at a time when the forces of Marxism-Leninism, of revolution, of the struggle for freedom and independence, against the U.S.-led imperialism are rapidly growing throughout the world, when imperialism and modern revisionism are disintegrating being gnawed at by many deep internal and external contradictions.

The great proletarian cultural revolution which has burst forth in the People's Republic of China, and is being personally directed by the outstanding Marxist-Leninist Comrade

Mao Tse-tung has scored major victories. It smashed the scheme of internal and external counter-revolutionaries to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and to restore capitalism in China, thus sidetracking the repetition in this country of the tragedy which took place in the Soviet Union and in the other countries where the revisionists are in power. Today, the People's Republic of China is flourishing much faster and has become a powerful bastion of revolution, socialism and of the liberation struggle of the peoples of the world. Our people and Party who are bound by links of great and fraternal friendship with People's China and its Communist Party, feel immensely glad at these victories.

Our People's Army is linked by bonds of deep fraternal friendship with the heroic Chinese People's Liberation Army. Both our revolutionary Armed Forces, educated and led by our two Marxist-Leninist Parties and Comrades Enver Hoxha and Mao Tse-tung, are and will always be side by side with each other in an unbreakable fraternity of arms both in times of weal and of woe for the purpose of completely frustrating and smashing all aggressive schemes of imperialist and revisionist enemies, for the purpose of defending our common cause — revolution, socialism and communism — in our countries.

The heroic Vietnamese people are dealing hard blows at U.S. imperialism in their armed struggle. This unequal war proved once again the superiority of the people's liberation war as the only way to vanquish aggression and liberate the country from violence and ruthless oppression of external and internal enemies. Our people, Party and Government have supported and support the just struggle of the fraternal Vietnamese people and express their conviction that only in this way will Vietnam score final victory over the aggressors.

The revolution and people's liberation war is on the upsurge in all the continents. Neither the U.S. imperialists nor the modern Soviet revisionists can ever blow out the flames of revolution. The capitalist and revisionist States are brewing with internal class struggle, with political and economic crises, with degeneration, upheaval and insecurity. The strikes and major demonstrations of the working class, the peasantry and students that have burst forth almost everywhere in these States showed that the revolutionary class spirit of the people is on the upsurge everywhere. The

wind of revolution and liberation of peoples from capitalist and revisionist domination is blowing from all sides. It is shaking the foundations of anti-popular and counter-revolutionary regimes. Neither reprisals nor demagogy can save imperialism, the bourgeoisie and revisionism from certain defeat. The revisionist States of Europe are continually detaching themselves from the Soviet Union and aligning themselves directly with U.S., West German, English and French imperialists just as the Soviet revisionist leaders themselves are zealously doing.

The development of events is confirming what our Party has rightly foreseen that the future belongs to revolution, to socialism and communism. Neither the imperialists nor their lackeys, the modern revisionists, can bring to a halt the triumphal march of peoples along this path.

Our Party and people are confident that the modern revisionist traitors will be swept away wherever they are by the revolutionary drive of the working class guided by genuine Marxist-Leninists.

The prospects of development of our country are brilliant. Our people, in steel-like unity with and under the guidance of our Party, holding the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other, are busily engaged in accomplishing the major tasks set forth by the 5th Party Congress, in fulfilling the 4th five-year plan, in deepening the ideological, cultural, technical and scientific revolution, in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and strengthening the defensive potential of our homeland in order to promote the great cause of socialism and communism.

All the effectives of our Armed Forces have also joined in the great drive to revolutionize the whole life of the country. The measures taken by the Party Central Committee to further consolidate and proletarianize our army have been and are of major importance. Many revolutionary movements and initiatives of an ideological, military and economic character have sprung up and developed thanks to these measures and teachings of the Party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Through mass actions our cadres and soldiers were better trained and tempered, the bonds between cadres and soldiers were strengthened, the unity between the army and people became steel-like, the party spirit at work and the mass line came more to the fore, direct participation in production and the contribution

of the army to the socialist construction of the country took larger proportions and discipline and military preparedness became and are becoming more strict and more perfect from day to day.

Our People's Army has become a great school of education and tempering for the youth who serve their term of military training, where, in addition to their ideological, political and military knowledge, they receive also vocational training. We are proud of these young patriots who, having served their term with a high sense of duty, imbued with the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha and having mastered a lot of technical and professional knowledge taught to them in the army, exert themselves in a highly revolutionary spirit to develop and advance economy and culture in the cities, work sites and agricultural cooperatives of our beloved homeland.

The cadres and soldiers of our Army, while preserving and further developing the glorious traditions of our National-liberation Army, and educated and inspired by the line of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, work, receive political and military training and guard the terrestrial and sea frontiers and the air space of our socialist homeland with a high revolutionary sense of duty.

Today, our Armed Forces are more alert than ever to cope with any enemy or coalition of enemies who would dare encroach, no matter how lightly, upon the borders of our free homeland. On this day of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of our People's Army, the hearts of our soldiers, officers on active duty or in reserve, and of the people's volunteers are filled with pride for their free and independent homeland, for the heroic Albanian people who march boldly and rapidly towards the highest peaks of progress for their glorious Party of Labor and its leader Comrade Enver Hoxha who hold aloft the victorious banner of Marx, Engel, Lenin and Stalin.

Long live our brave, hard-working and freedom-loving people!

Long live our Party of Labor, its glorious founder and leader and Commander-in-Chief of our Armed Forces Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Long live our people's Armed Forces, staunch protector of the borders of our homeland and of the achievements of our socialist revolution!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE STATISTICAL BOARD ON THE FULFILMENT OF THE STATE PLAN FOR THE FIRST SIX-MONTH PERIOD OF 1968

Our laboring class, cooperative peasantry and all the working people of our country, led by the great ideas of the 5th Congress of the Party and other Party documents, with a revolutionary impetus and enthusiasm and in an ever broadening socialist emulation drive, have done good work in carrying out the tasks assigned to them by the 3rd and 4th Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Party of Albania for the year 1968. The speech delivered by Comrade Enver Hoxha on December 1967 in Peshkopia and his speech on «The Control by the Working Class» delivered in April of this year, have given a fresh impulse to an all-round, deeper and better understanding of the Party's teachings, have raised the mobilization at work to a higher degree and, as a consequence, better results than ever have been attained in the fulfilment of the first six-month plan of this year.

The plan targets for the principal industrial items in physical units were reached as follows: crude oil — 103 percent, fuel — 98 percent, bitumen — 110 percent, coal — 101 percent, chrome ore — 104 percent, blister copper — 112 percent, copper wire — 105 percent, iron-nickel ore — 99 percent, electric power — 107 percent, Diesel engines — 104 percent, electric motors — 100 percent, transformers — 123 percent, spare parts — 112 percent, fertilizers — 106 percent, caustic and calcinated soda — 120 percent, cement — 101 percent, sawed timber — 107 percent, wood shavings and fiber slabs — 102 percent, paper and cardboard — 102 percent, fabrics — 105 percent, cloth — 104 percent, footwear — 109 percent, fishing — 111 percent,

edible fats — 112 percent, soaps — 101 percent, etc. There were produced more than in the first six month of the last year: blister copper — 37 percent, copper wire — 49 percent, fertilizers — 123 percent, electric motors — 163 percent, transformers — 81 percent, cement — 71 percent, footwear — 35 percent, etc.

The general industrial production plan has been fulfilled 105 percent, with an increase of 21 percent over that of the first six months last year. The naphtha industry overfulfilled its tasks — 18 percent, coal industry — 12 percent, chrome industry — 15 percent, copper industry — 64 percent, electric industry — 18 percent, machine-making industry — 19 percent, light industry — 22 percent, food processing industry — 19 percent, etc.

Geological workers wound up their six month plan with good results. The oil prospecting deep well drilling plan was fulfilled 112 percent, exploitation drilling — 103 percent. chrome ore mining — 123 percent, coal mining — 98 percent, iron-nickel mining — 103 percent, Crelius drilling — 114 percent, etc.

During the first three months of this year, the work yield increase plan in the framework of the general industrial production was fulfilled 101 percent and the production costs of the enterprises of the Ministry of Industry and Mining were lowered 1 percent under the planned targets.

Implementing the tasks set forth by the 3rd Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Party, the industrial workers, relying on their own forces, have embarked on bold and important activities further deepening the technical and scientific revolution. Many propositions have been put into practice setting up new lines and workshops, turning out more new assortments, improving the technological processes, raising the quality of products, increasing mechanization, etc.

The following lines were put into operation during this six month period:

— in the Durrës district: the sector to turn out electric appliances at the Electromechanic and Woodworking Enterprise; a workshop to turn out dies at the Agricultural Machine Plant; a workshop to produce automatic locks at the Metal Ware Cooperative;

— in the Korça district: a potato meal grinding mill at the Food-processing Plant;

— in the Shkodra district: a line to turn out bolts at the Regional Tractor Repair Shop;

— In the Tirana district: the sector to produce reinforced concrete tension-tested beams to replace wooden ones used in mines, the bakelite powder sector at the State Chemical Plants, the sector to turn out steel pipes of from 300 to 800 mm diameters for irrigation purposes at the State Industrial Installation Plant, a sector to turn out brakes for motor-cars at the State Road and Bridge Construction Enterprise, the «Dajti» Plant specializing in the industrial production of minor construction devices;

— in the Vlora district: the sector to produce electromotors and the sector to produce machinery for woodworking plants at the Metal Ware Cooperative, the sector to turn out potato meal at the State Industrial Plant, etc.

Many new articles have also been turned out, such as nylon and acetate shirts, stamped sweaters, microporous sandals and slippers for children and grown-ups, sodium fluorine, natrium bisulphite, ready-made articles and various sorts of fur toys, new varieties of perfumed soap, etc.

During this 6 month period agricultural workers, through their hard and conscientious work, were able to overcome the difficulties created by bad wether conditions and to score satisfactory results in all seasonal works.

By making wide use of the advanced experience and the results attained in scientific experimentation, the agricultural workers are making tremendous efforts to make their bold pledges come true, i. e, to harvest 30 kv per hectar in onethird of the acreage sown with wheat and 40 kv per hectar in onefourth of the acreage sown with maize.

During the past 6 month period, the annual plan for reclaiming virgin land was fulfilled 62 percent, with some regions having already fulfilled their yearly plans in this field. The spring sowing plan was fulfilled 100 percent and, in the general framework of the autum-spring agricultural year, 35,000 more hectares were sown than last year. By July 20, 1968, 85 percent of the food grains area in general and 90 percent of the wheat area in particular had already been sown; good work is being done this year in planting maize in stubble fields. Up to July 1968 14,000 hectares were sown over the plan targets, that is to say, 21,000 hectares more than last year. Better work is being done in expanding the irrigation capacity, building new irrigation sche-

mes, such as channels, reservoirs, electric and motor pumping stations, etc. The Çidhna channels in the Vlora region, the Erzen and Brari channels in the Tirana region, the Pepeli and Daftia reservoirs in the Gjirokastra region, and a number of electric pumping stations in the Berat, Durrës, Gramësh and Tepelena districts are either being completed or partially under exploitation. A considerable help was rendered by the peasantry in increasing the irrigation capacity.

Within the same six month period, the number of tractors marked an increase, too. There was a greater work volume done in arable units and agriculture was given 2.5 times more fertilizers than during the first six months last year.

In comparison to the same period last year, there were amassed: nearly 2 times more food grains, 57 percent more vegetables, 10 percent more fresh fruits, 7 percent more eggs, etc. The meat amassment plan was fulfilled 94 percent, that of hides 105 percent and that of skins 109 percent.

In the motor car transport, the transport plan of some main commodities has been fulfilled as follows: chrome ore — 100 percent, iron ore — 95 percent, coal — 102 percent, naphtha bitumen — 98 percent, timber — 93 percent, firewood — 90 percent, etc. The goods transport plan of the Ministry of Communications was fulfilled: in motor car transport — 116 percent in tons and 99 percent in tons/kilometers, railway transport — 112 percent in tons and 107 percent in tons/kilometers; in internal sea transport — 96 percent in tons and 119 percent in tons/miles; in the external sea transport 106 percent. Against the first six month period of the past year, the volume of the work done in tons and tons/kilometers was increased: in motor vehicle transport — 15 percent and 5 percent respectively, and in railway transport — 13 percent and 3 percent respectively, the passenger movement in motor vehicle transport increased 35 percent and in railway transport nearly 9 percent.

The plan targets for the construction of certain major projects were reached as follows: at the Fieri Electric Power Plant — 154 percent, at the Fieri Oil Refinery — 168 percent, at the Vau i Dejës Hydro-Power Plant — 105 percent, at the «Mao Tse-tung» Textile Mills — 103 percent, at the Elbasan Cement Factory — 99 percent, in the Myzeqe and Vlora plains draining projects — 124 percent, in reclaim-

ing the Hoxhara marshes — 97 percent, in the Durrës plain irrigation scheme — 103 percent, in the irrigation and drainage of the Korça and Devolli plains — 101 percent, in water conservancy projects in the Gjirokastra region — 92 percent, in the Rrogozhina-Fier railroad construction — 105 percent, in the repair and asphaltting of the Patos-Ballësh-Memaliaj highway — 112 percent etc.

The general volume of the building construction and installation works was fulfilled 99 percent, with an increase of 11 percent over the first six-month period of 1967. In the first 3-month period the production increase plan for building construction and installation work was fulfilled 102 percent and the production costs were lowered 3.5 percent by the enterprises of the Ministry of Building Construction.

During this six-month period, hand in hand with the tasks emerging from the 1968 plan, a series of steps for technical organization were taken in order to implement the tasks assigned by the 4th Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Party for the electrification of all the rural areas of our country by November 8, 1971. Electrification staffs have been set up in villages, localities, work centers, regional executive and Party committees, as well as in the central departments and institutions. New communal electric enterprises and special sections attached to them have been set up. The regions with greater technical availabilities due to help those lagging behind in this respect were assigned to their respective tasks, and this year's programs of work have been coordinated between them. Electrification projects are being designed for the coming years. There have been already singled out construction grounds for 15 electric substations, out of which 18 are to be set up in the framework of our rural areas electrification drive.

The production of numerous materials and spare parts for the electrification of the country, such as power transformers, low tension isolators, hydroturbines, reinforced concrete poles, etc. has been greatly expanded these recent times. There has already begun the production of numerous new articles, such as Bergmann switchboards and pipes, fuses and plugs, sockets, porcelain isolators etc. A type of one-phase transformer was experimented and state construction enterprises are turning out carrugated concrete poles.

Sixty villages have already been electrified. The electrification of the Dropulli region in the Gjirokastra district has

been completed. The main construction projects for the electrification of the Mallakastra villages in the Fieri region have already been completed. The greater part of the latter were electrified in the first days of July.

In nearly two hundred other villages work is going on for finding out electric power resources, putting up high and low tension lines, installing transformer chambers and inner installations. Construction has begun and is well under way in many important hydropower and Diesel power stations such as the following: the Orgjost hydropower station in the Kukës district, the Tuçep and Homesh hydro-power stations in the Dibra district, the Fenaras hydro-power station in the Librazhd district, the Kërpiça hydro-power station in the Gramshi district, the Leshnica hydro-power station in the Saranda district as well as the Diesel power stations in Lekbibaj of Tropoja, in Pustec of Korça, etc.

In the Dukagjini and Kelmendi regions, in spite of very severe winter conditions, the construction work on the Tamara, Selca, Vermosh and Vukël hydro-power stations and on the Diesel power stations of Nicaj-Shala and Toplana has advanced fairly well. The installation of the machinery is going on hand in hand with the construction work in Tamara, Selca and Nicaj-Shala. The high and low tension network is being set up at the same time with the inner installations.

In the other regions, such as those of Lekbibaj, Çermenika, Pustec, etc. the work for the electrification of their own villages is satisfactorily going on.

In the swift development of our country's revolutionization, forging ever faster forward to fulfil the tasks laid down before us, special attention is being attached to the precept of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, «Above all, let us take care of man». In this respect, important measures have been taken and carried out for further raising the material and cultural well-being of our working people.

In comparison to the six month period of the last year, the circulation of goods marked an increase of over 8 percent and to the population there were sold 5.5 percent more fats, 6 percent more milk, 29 percent more eggs, 11 percent more sugar, 5 percent more dry beans, 31 percent more greens, 10 percent more cloth, 26 percent more fabrics, 10 percent more knitted articles, 24 percent more footwear, 19 percent more furniture and utensils, 27 percent more cement,

10 percent more timber, 15 percent more bricks, 13 percent more nails, etc. The goods retail circulation plan was fulfilled 102 percent in the socialist trade sectors.

The planned figures in exports field were fulfilled 102 percent, with an increase of 13 percent against the first six-month period year, by the producing and ammassment organizations.

The expansion and improvement of the trade network, especially in the remote rural areas, have been going on steadily. During this six-month period, 190 new shops have been opened in the rural areas. The network of repair and services shops was extended and further improved. In comparison with the first six-month period last year, there was a marked increase of 15 percent in repair services, 8 percent in various communal services, 10 percent in building and repair services.

The workers of the cities, responding to the speech Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered in Peshkopia last year, are giving a great help by building their houses themselves through voluntary work; up to July 10, there were handed over 567 new apartments with work going on in about 3,000 others.

This year more than 1,000 students were graduated after following day time courses at various 4th-year upper institutes of learning, whereas 600 others graduated from 2nd year upper teachers' training institutes and about 2,800 from secondary technical and vocational schools. During this six-month period, our teachers and students, with the assistance of the parents and the people as a whole, embarked on a great discussion on the further revolutionization of our school which was led by Comrade Enver Hoxha's March 1968 speech.

The achievements already scored in the fulfilment of the State plan for the first six months this year go to show that the workers of our country are ever better mastering and putting into practice the teachings of the Party about the revolutionization of their way of thinking, of working, and of living. These results show that the revolutionizing decisions of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha are a powerful support and a great inspiration for fulfilling and overfulfilling the historic tasks set by Fifth Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania and the 1968 State Plan, the third year of the 5th Five-year Plan.

CONTENTS

Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works — a powerful revolutionary weapon in the hands of our Party and people

- An article by Comrade Mehmet Shehu, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, appearing in the 19 May, 1968 issue of the «Zëri i Popullit» daily on the occasion of the publication of the 1st volume of Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works in Albanian.

3

Communique of the fifth plenary session of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania

21

Speech delivered by Comrade Mehmet Shehu, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, at the 6th session of the Popular Assembly on «The attitude of the People's Republic of Albania towards the Warsaw Treaty»

22

Law «On the Denunciation by the People's Republic of Albania of the Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Aid between the People's Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the People's Republic of Hungary, the German De-

mocratic Republic, the People's Republic of Poland, the People's Republic of Rumania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Republic	49
---	----

Statement by the Central Committee of the Party of Labor and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania on the Aggression by the Soviet Revisionists and Their Satellites Against the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Czechoslovak People	52
---	----

Telegram To Comrade Mao Tse-tung

Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party,

To Comrade Lin Piao

Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party,

To Comrade Chou En-Lai

Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of China 56

Telegram to Comrade Enver Hoxha

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania,

To Comrade Mehmet Shehu

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania 59

Note of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania addressed to the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria	62
---	----

Speech delivered by Comrade Beqir Balluku, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor and Minister of Defense of the People's Republic of Albania at a mass rally of the workers of the Capital on the occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the Founding of the People's Army of Albania	65
--	----

Announcement of the Statistical Board on the Fulfilment of the State Plan for the first six-month period of 1968	77
--	----

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